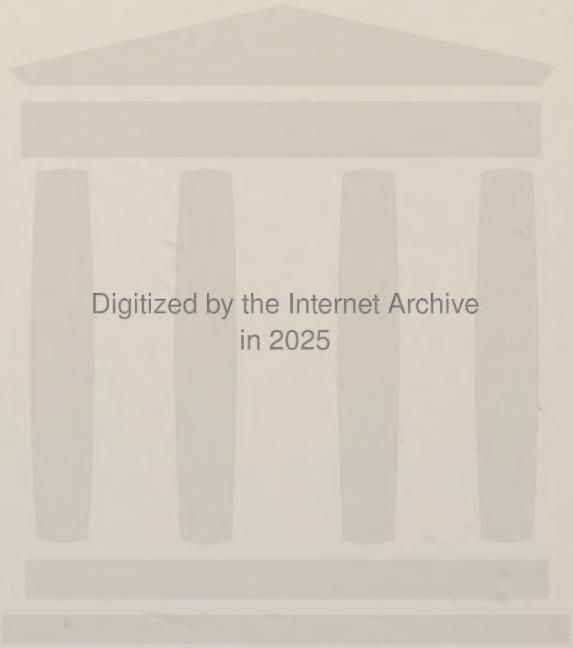

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TERMS OF "CALVIN FUND" (DUTCH)

AFSCHRIFT

HEDEN, den een en dertigsten December negentienhonderd vier en twintig, verschenen voor my, Gerrit Wolzak Hendrikszoon, notaris te Haarlem :

1. Willem Hendrik van Arkel, candidaat-notaris, wonende te Santpoort, als gemachtigde, krachtens eene onderhandsche akte van volmacht, welke, na vooraf door den lasthebber, in tegenwoordigheid van my notaris en der getuigen, voor echt erkend en ten blyke daarvan door die allen te zyn geteekend, aan deze akte is gehecht, van den heer Jan Hendrik de Waal Malefyt, Lid van de Eerste Kamer der Staten Generaal, Burgemeester van- en wonende te- Katwyk aan den Ryn :

2. Tijo Hendrik van Eeghen, koopman, wonende te Aerdenhout, gemeente Bloemendaal,

in hunne hoedanigheid : de lastgever van den comparant sub 1 als Voorzitter en de comparant sub 2 als Secretaris van het College van Directeuren der Vereeniging voor Hooger Onderwys op Gereformeerden grondslage, gevestigd te Amsterdam, welker statuten zyn goedgekeurd by Koninklyk besluit van twaalf Februari achttienhonderd negen en zeventig, nommer 23 en waarvan de wyzigingen zyn goedgekeurd by Koninklyke besluiten van vyf en twintig April negentienhonderd drie, nommer 118, een en twintig December negentienhonderd acht, nommer 1255 en zes en twintig Mei negentienhonderd vier en twintig, nommer 93, als zoodanig genoemd College ten deze vertegenwoordigende en uitvoering gevende aan zyn besluit van den veertienden October negentienhonderd vier en twintig.

De comparanten verklaarden :

dat aan de Vereeniging voor Hooger Onderwys op Gereformeerden grondslag voornoemd zyn ter hand gesteld verschillende effecten tot een gezamenlyke nominale waarde van tien duizend gulden met de coupons van het jaar negentienhonderd vyf en twintig af en welke effecten aan genoemde vereeniging zyn geschonken, ten einde het kapitaal daarvan te doen strekken als stichtingskapitaal voor een fonds, ten doel hebbende de bevordering van het contact met het Gereformeerd Wetenschappelyk leven elders, speciaal in het buitenland.

dat het College van Directeuren voornoemd besloten heeft gemelde schenking te aanvaarden en daarmede de navolgende stichting in het leven te roepen, welke geregeerd zal worden door de navolgende statuten :

ARTIKEL 1.

De stichting zal genaamd zyn :
"Calvijnfonds," en is gevestigd te Amsterdam.

ARTIKEL 2.

De stichting heeft ten doel de bevordering van het contact der Vereeniging voor Hooger Onderwys op Gereformeerden gronds lag, gevestigd te Amsterdam, met het Gereformeerd Wetenschappelyk leven elders, speciaal in het buitenland.

Zy tracht dit doel te bereiken door het doen houden van lezingen door Nederlandsche geleerden van Gereformeerde richting in het buitenland of door het doen houden van lezingen door buitenlandsche

vertegenwoordigers der Gereformeerde levensopvatting in Nederland of door het doen vertalen van wetenschappelyke werken, benevens door alle andere wettige middelen die voor het bereiken van dit doel dienstig kunnen zyn.

ARTIKEL 3.

Het kapitaal der stichting wordt beheerd door Directeuren der voornoemde Vereeniging voor Hooger Onderwys op Gereformeerden grondslag, gevestigd te Amsterdam, die aldus als bestuursleden der stichting optreden.

ARTIKEL 4.

Het bestuur der stichting zal haar kapitaal beleggen op zoodanige wyze als hy het meest wenschelyk en in het belang der stichting oordeelt.

De rente van het kapitaal mag voor geen langeren tyd dan gedurende drie jaren worden bespaard.

De uitgaven ter bereiking van het in artikel 2 omschreven doel mogen per jaar nooit meer bedragen dan een bedrag, gelykstaande aan de rente, die gedurende drie jaren van het kapitaal zal zyn gekweekt.

ARTIKEL 5.

Besluiten door het bestuur genomen zullen alleen kunnen worden uitgevoerd indien daarop het advies van den Senaat der van de Vereeniging voornoemd uitgaande Vrye Universiteit zal zyn gehoord.

ARTIKEL 6.

Indien onverhoopt het beginsel der voornoemde Vereeniging, zooals dit is uitgedrukt in artikel 2 harer statuten, veranderd mocht worden, zal deze stichting van rechtswege ontbonden zyn en zullen de haar toebehoorende baten, na aftrek der schulden, vervallen aan de Gereformeerde Kerk te Amsterdam, voor de Generale Kas voor de Zending van de Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland onder Heidenen en Mohammedanen.

ARTIKEL 7.

Het Bestuur is verplicht inlichtingen omtrent het gebruik van de revenuen van het aan de stichting geschonken kapitaal te verstrekken aan dengene, die zich op voor het Bestuur aannemelyke wyze als schenker van het stichtingskapitaal aanduidt. Deze zal dan tevens aan het Bestuur kunnen verzoeken eene andere bestemming aan het kapitaal of deszelfs revenuen te geven. Indien het Bestuur zich met deze veranderde bestemming kan vereenigen en deze mede in het belang der voornoemde vereeniging acht, zal het, binnen den tyd van twee jaren nadat tot die verandering is besloten, daartoe overgaan.

De comparanten zyn my notaris bekend.

Waarvan akte.

Aldus verleden te Haarlem, op den dag als aan het hoofd dezer akte gemeld, in tegenwoordigheid van Jacobus Scholten, candidaat-notaris, wonende te Overveen, gemeente Bloemendaal en IJske Braaksma, notarisklerk, wonende te Haarlem, als getuigen.

Deze akte is onmiddelyk na voorlezing onderteekend door de comparanten, de getuigen en my, notaris.

W. H. van Arkel, Tijo H. van Eeghen, J. Scholten, Braaksma, G. Wolzak Hzn., Notaris.

Voor afschrift

(w.g.) G. WOLZAK HZN.,

Notaris.

TERMS OF "CALVIN FUND" (ENGLISH)

To-day, on the thirty-first of December nineteen hundred and twenty-four, appeared before me, Gerrit Wolzak Hendrikszoon, notary-public at Haarlem :

1. Willem Hendrik van Arkel, candidate-notary-public of Santpoort, as attorney, in virtue of a private warrant of attorney given him by Mr. Jan Hendrik de Waal Malefyt, member of the First Chamber of the States-General, Burgomaster of Katwijk aan Zee, where he also resides, which warrant the attorney recognized as authentic in the presence of me, notary-public, and the witnesses, and in proof of which this warrant of attorney has been signed by all and attached to this instrument :

2. Tijo Hendrik van Eeghen, merchant, of Aerdenhout, community of Bloemendaal, in their respective qualities, to wit :

the principal of the party mentioned under sub 2 as Secretary of the Board of Managing Directors of the Society for University Education on the principles of the Reformed Church, established in Amsterdam, the Statutes of which Society have been approved by Royal Decree of twelve February eighteen hundred and seventy-nine, number 23, and of which the modifications were approved by the Royal Decrees of April twenty-five, nineteen hundred and eight, number 1255, and May twenty-six, nineteen hundred and twenty-four, number 93, representing the above-named Board as such and to carry out the Board's decision of October fourteen, nineteen hundred and twenty-four.

The parties stated :

that the Society for University Education on the Principles of the Reformed Church has been donated with several securities of a total face value of ten thousand guilders, together with their coupons dating from the year nineteen hundred and twenty-five, and which securities were handed over to the Society for the purpose of utilising the capital thus represented as a founding-capital for a Fund created for the purpose of establishing closer contact with Reformed Scientific life, elsewhere, especially abroad.

that the Board of Managing Directors afore-named have decided to accept the afore-mentioned donation and to found therewith a Fund to be named hereafter, which shall be governed by the following Statutes :

Article 1.

The Fund shall be named : "The Calvin Fund," and its seat shall be in Amsterdam.

Article 2.

The Fund shall serve to establish closer contact between the Society for University Education on the Principles of the Reformed Church established in Amsterdam and Reformed Scientific life elsewhere, as specially abroad.

To attain this object the Fund shall send out Dutch learned men of Reformed Church principles to give lectures abroad, or by inviting foreign lecturers, who are adherents of the Reformed Church view of life as held in Holland, or by having scientific works translated, as also by all legal means which may tend to serve this purpose.

ARTICLE 3.

The capital of the Fund shall be managed by the Managing Directors of the afore-named Society for University Education on the Principles of the Reformed Church, established in Amsterdam, who shall thus act as Members of the Board of the Fund.

ARTICLE 4.

The Board of the Fund shall invest the Fund's capital in the way as they shall think desirable and in the interest of the Fund. The interest of the capital shall not be saved up for a period exceeding three years. The expenses made for the purposes as described in Article 2 shall not exceed a sum equal to the interest derived from the principal in three years' time.

ARTICLE 5.

Decisions taken by the Board shall not be carried out until the advice of the Senate of the University which works under the auspices of the Society shall have been taken.

ARTICLE 6.

In the unlooked-for event that the principles of the afore-named Society, as laid down in Article 2 of its Statutes, should be altered, the Fund shall be legally dissolved and the sums due to it, after deduction of the Fund's liabilities, shall come to the Reformed Church in Amsterdam, to be paid into the General Fund for Mission-work of the Reformed Churches in Holland among Heathens and Mahomedans.

ARTICLE 7.

The Board shall be obliged to furnish information concerning the use given to the revenues of the capital donated to the Fund, to him who is able to give to the Board adequate proof of being the donor of the founding-capital. This donor shall at the same time be entitled to request the Board to use the capital or its revenues for some other purpose. If the Board be prepared to act as suggested by the donor and consider the alteration beneficial to the Society, they shall carry out the decision to this effect within two years after it was taken.

The parties are known to me, notary-public.

Of which deed.

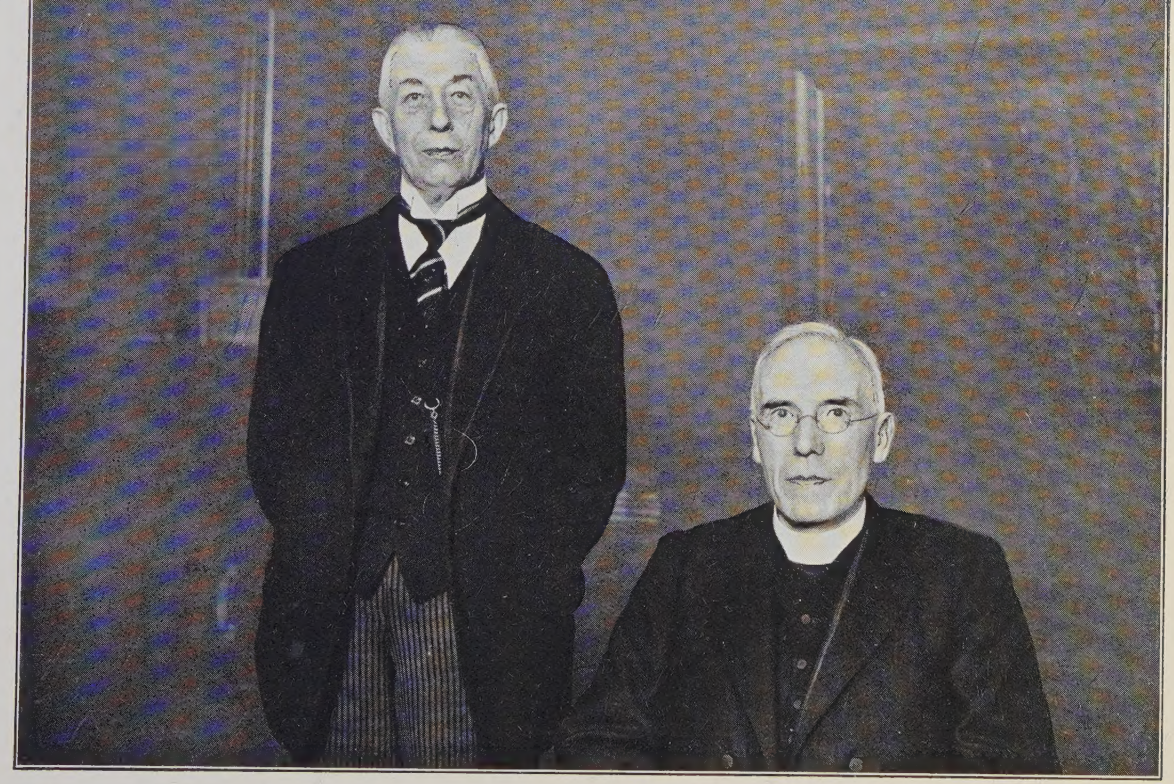
Thus passed at Haarlem, on the day as mentioned in the head of this instrument, in the presence of Jacobus Scholten, candidate-notary-public, living at Overveen community, Bloemendaal, and Yske Braaksma, notary-clerk, living at Haarlem, as witnesses.

This deed was signed by the parties, the witnesses and myself, notary-public, immediately after the reading.

(was signed:) W. H. van Arkel, Tijo H. van Eeghen, J. Scholten, Braaksma, G. Wolzak Hzn., notary-public.

For Copy

(was signed) G. WOLZAK HZN.,
Notary-Public.



MR. H. COLIJN
(formerly Prime Minister of the Netherlands)

PROFESSOR D. MACLEAN
First Lecturer

ASPECTS OF SCOTTISH CHURCH HISTORY

ASPECTS OF SCOTTISH CHURCH HISTORY

LECTURES DELIVERED ON THE CALVIN FOUNDATION
IN THE FREE UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM
MARCH 1927

BY

DONALD MACLEAN, D.D.

PROFESSOR OF CHURCH HISTORY, FREE CHURCH COLLEGE, EDINBURGH

AUTHOR OF
"THE LAW OF THE LORD'S DAY IN THE CELTIC CHURCH" ETC.

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TO

MY WIFE

UNITED THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

PREFACE

THESE Lectures, which are published at the request of the Directors of the Calvin Foundation, appear as they were delivered. They aim at opening up lines of approach to the study of Calvinism in Scotland, rather than at an outline of the history of that system as it influenced the life and thought of the Scottish people. Still, I have tried to weave a continuous thread of connection through the past to the present.

Some of the many sources laid under contribution are given in the hope that they may help students of both countries—Holland and Scotland, so intimately connected with Calvinism—in pursuing the study of the subject further, and binding more firmly the ties of friendship between the Calvinists of the two countries.

In my effort to interpret the past, or to describe the present, I have made no attempt to conceal my own views, neither have I intentionally minimised nor exaggerated matters on which there may be

wide differences of opinion, nor withheld any substantial evidence that might be considered damaging to my own viewpoint.

To the Directors of the Calvin Foundation, the Professors and Students, and the General Public, who listened so patiently, and with such evident appreciation to the delivery of these Lectures, and for their many other generous acts of kindness to me, I tender my warmest thanks. And to my own colleagues I am deeply grateful for their encouragement and help, and very specially for relieving me of my duties to allow me to deliver the Lectures in Amsterdam.

D. MACLEAN.

FREE CHURCH COLLEGE,
EDINBURGH, *5th August* 1927.

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LECTURE I

THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND

(SIXTEENTH CENTURY)

LECTURE I

THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND

I

THE Church of Rome held universal sway in Scotland for four hundred years. If we look at the Church during that long period, and view it, as it should be regarded, as an organisation for witnessing to God and for the betterment of society, socially, morally, and spiritually, we find, even when it is weighed in the balances of its own time, that it comes woefully short of what it should have been. It was, in fact, everything that a Church of Christ ought not to be.[1] What was it, then, that was the canker in its vitals, and what were the forces that hastened it to its fall?

On the political and social side Scotland advanced during these centuries. The national policy began to be invested in a King's court as early as the reign of David I., and the rough rule and partial justice by magnates and tribal lords began to recede. Justice began to be administered in a systematic

[1] Cf. Hay Fleming, *The Reformation in Scotland*, pp. 1–170; Reyburn, "Calvin and Scotland" (*Records, Scot. Ch. Hist. Socy.*, vol. i. p. 211).

and fair way, the tenure and transference of property was by statute, and burghs and burghers were steadily increasing their power. In all this development the Church's influence was more of a degrading than an uplifting character. Monasticism and diocesan episcopacy developed concurrently and often in open and unfriendly rivalry. Monasteries and abbeys were liberally endowed from Royal revenues, and parishes were maintained by taxes and endowments. But maladministration soon became common. Abbeys and priories began to absorb parish endowments. Accordingly, bishoprics became exceedingly lucrative, and these were sought merely for worldly gain. Exactions were constantly raised, and the common people were ground down under these. Cathedrals and abbeys were erected elegantly. The picturesqueness and art displayed in these may have had a civilising influence, but it was at the heavy cost of human blood, paid chiefly to guilds of workmen, monks from France and England. These guilds were free from service tax and charges. Burghs and burgesses could not compete against these tax-free institutions, and a natural resentment was evolved which burst later into a fierce rage.

As an educational instrument the Church failed quite as lamentably. Monasteries, far from being centres of light diffusing literary culture, were often centres of gross ignorance. Of the eighteen schools in Scotland in the end of the thirteenth century,

six were the direct bequest of the Celtic Church.[1] These schools did not multiply. From the twelfth century onwards, the *Statutes*[2] of the Provincial Synod bewail the crass ignorance of all ranks of Churchmen of literature and all the liberal arts. Illiterates, lay and cleric, boy and bastard, were foisted as spiritual guides on the people. In 1531 some clergy could not read their matins, and celebrating priests could scarcely read the alphabet. In 1549, curates and priests were as deficient in "learning as in morals," and could not read with ease even their own spoken speech. In the nunneries of Scotland even on the eve of the Reformation the illiterate nun was the rule rather than the exception.[3]

The mediæval Church in Scotland, like most of Europe, presents to us a dark picture of low moral standards, where the bishop could not correct the peasant except to be scornfully silenced by a *tu quoque!* When Pope Honorius issued his bull in 1225 suggesting provincial synods for Scotland, the reason given for such a proposal was to correct the "very many enormities" perpetuated and which remained unpunished. Duels among priests were common, and all kinds of unseemly frolics. As early as 1164, young men gaudily dressed themselves to bait a bull offered in sacrifice on St. Cuthbert's

[1] MacEwen, *History*, vol. i. p. 201.
[2] Cf. Patrick, *Statutes of the Scottish Church, passim.*
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 84; cf. Hay Fleming, *Reformation*, p. 95.

Day in Kirkcudbright. Concubinage was a general practice among priests, whose illegitimate sons were appointed to places of preferment. The confessional was a place of lustful practices. So common was this, that the Bishop of St. Andrews in 1242 had to "forbid the confession of women being heard between the rail and the altar"; they should be heard in another part of the church, beyond earshot, but not "out of sight." This degrading of sexual morals appeared early, and spread rapidly and widely as a repulsive fester over the entire body of the Church, which it ultimately helped to destroy—a corpse, without life. Later, constant cries from solitary voices were heard, urging the reform of clerical morals as the only safeguard for the Church against heresy. But none could dare to arraign his neighbour, for all were equally guilty. When Archibald Hay, a good scholar, addressed his famous *panegyricus*[1] to his exalted kinsman, David Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews and Primate of Scotland, he did not gloss over this ugly feature with a refinement of utterance. "Priests," he said, "come to that heavenly table (Lord's Table) who have not slept off yesterday's debauch . . . so that there is no greater danger to be feared from the most noxious animals than from this offscouring of most abandoned men." "If I proceed," he continued, "to view the inordinate desire of glory, the incredible cruelty,

[1] Cf. Hay Fleming, *Reformation*, pp. 41–45.

passion, envy, hate, treachery, the insatiable longing for vengeance, the wicked words and disgraceful actions, all of which rage in the breasts of Churchmen, no one would believe that a monster so savage lurked under a human countenance." But the "carnall Cardinall," [1] as Knox styled Beaton, could not afford to expose his clergy, for there walked after himself a string of bastard sons and daughters. The six celibate bishops of Scotland in Council with him had all of them similar offsprings, with the sole exception of Reid of Orkney, whose bequest helped to found the post-Reformation University of Edinburgh. To these illegitimate sons were given rich benefices, and to the daughters rich abbey lands as marriage dowries, to win the hands of greedy barons. Such a depressing picture of moral depravity, lasciviousness, vice, and rapacity [2] could only be darkened further by a fact that might have been expected. It is this. During the whole period of Roman ascendancy in Scotland scarcely a ripple of religious enthusiasm is visible; no moving religious revival relieves the pervading gloom, and no sheen of holy purity is anywhere discernible on this vast expanse of a dead sea of sin.

II

But forces were gathering that were destined to relieve Scotland of this moral incubus. The younger

[1] Laing's *Knox*, vol. i. p. 173.
[2] Cf. Pollen, *Papal Negotiations with Queen Mary*, p. 138.

nobility were asserting themselves in Parliament as opponents of the Church. The burghs were groping towards independence and trade freedom, and became responsible for education. Artisans were putting forward their claim to rule in the municipalities, and they opposed the trade monopolies of the Church. The peasants were awakening from their long sleep and were restless to throw off the shackles by which the Church bound them as chattels of the soil. The *Good and Godly Ballads* of the Wedderburns,[1] and other popular ballads, were the songs of the people, and these breathed the spirit of revolt from the oppression of the Church and higher nobility. All these forces contributed to the great revolution in life, thought, and religion which was soon to become a momentous reality. But, at best, they were but minor causes of the Reformation. In these forces the Reformers undoubtedly found suitable material, and having impregnated them with religion, they gave birth to reformed Scotland. True it is that Scotland had George Buchanan, a peerless Latinist, as Holland had Erasmus, the greatest of the humanists, but their comparative scorn or "indifference" to the reforming movement makes it necessary to ascribe the depth and completeness of the Reformation in both these countries to a power originating in a higher source than humanistic culture. Humanism

[1] Cf. Laing's *The Gude and Godlie Ballates*; Mitchell's *The Wedderburns and their Work.*

merely helped Calvin to give literary expression to his theology, but it did not create that theology.

But more effective than these minor contributory forces was the teaching of the Lollards, even though it was in the main negative in its character. It created distrust in the Church, and the students of St. Andrews were bound under oath to oppose it. But more effective still, as being more appealing, was the loyalty unto death of martyred confessors. John Resby, a Wycliff scholar and preacher, was burnt to ashes at Perth in 1407. Paul Craw, a Bohemian physician and preacher of eloquence, was burned at St. Andrews in 1435. In 1494 the Archbishop of Glasgow arraigned thirty Ayrshire Lollards before the Privy Council, charging them with thirty-four heresies. But their loyalty stood the test, and political prudence dictated to the Council the folly of committing men of such social influence to the stake. But most effective of all was the widespread diffusion of Tyndale's Bible and Protestant literature. The forces of Henry VIII. of England that invaded Scotland brought with them "cartloads" of Bibles. The coast trade with the Continent brought Lutheran literature to St. Andrews, Edinburgh, and northern coast towns from Dutch seaports. The Word of God was studied, and the reforming movement was beginning to assume alarming force. In 1526 the alarmed Parliament enacted that all who bought this literature, termed in the Act "all sic filthie and vice,"

were to be imprisoned. In the following year all protestant propaganda was made punishable by law. But no parliamentary enactment could now suppress the rising enthusiasm for the Reformation.

At this time the noble-born and cultured Patrick Hamilton, titular abbot of Fearn, was at St. Andrews. In 1520 he took his degree in Paris. In 1524 he was an Arts student at St. Andrews. In 1527 he was charged with heresy by Archbishop James Beaton, and fled to Germany, where he had the friendship of Luther and Melanchthon. He was present at the founding of the University of Marburg, and in that year he published his well-known thesis charging Rome not merely with depravity in its corporate life, but with falsity in its teaching. He at the same time enunciated the evangelical teaching of Protestantism. He returned to Scotland, and in February 1527–28 he died, witnessing for his faith at the stake. "His reik infected all on whom it blew," and his martyrdom did more than any other act to fan the flame of popular rage against Roman tyranny and irreligion. Alexander Alene (Alacius the Wanderer) was a fruit. He left his own country and became famous as a professor of divinity at Frankfort and Leipzig. Prior Alexander Seaton, another convert, fled to England. Henry Forrest was burnt at the stake in St. Andrews in 1533, and two others paid a similar penalty for their loyalty to their faith in Edinburgh in the following year. Persecutions were increasing, and

after 1538 Cardinal Beaton intensified his heresy hunt, five men suffering torture by burning in Edinburgh as the direct outcome of his death lust. Two others suffered in Glasgow.

In March 1543, however, the estates showed Protestant leanings by permitting, much against the bishops' wishes, the reading of the Scriptures in "the vulgar tongue." But the harsh military policy of Henry VIII. defeated the good purposes of an alliance with protestant England, and Cardinal Beaton, then, successfully renewed the old alliance with Roman Catholic France, and the persecuting spirit was quickly revived. In 1546 George Wishart was burnt at St. Andrews. Wishart, of noble Scottish blood, was a talented scholar and a pious Christian. He had to flee for his Protestantism, even though he aimed only at the reformation of the Church from within. He imbibed learning in Germany, Switzerland, and England. His translation of the *First Helvetic Confession* into the Scots vernacular contributed to the formulation of the reformed Scottish faith. But more famous by far than the master was his disciple, John Knox. Knox's was the master mind of the Scottish Reformation. Fearing God, but fearless of man, he boldly dispelled all illusions as to internal reform of a Church whose complete removal he recognised as the only remedy for Scotland's spiritual ills and social bondage. He was not a profound scholar or systematic theologian, but he was profoundly

pious. Courageous beyond most, unflinching in resolution, ardent and passionate in his loyalty to Christ, and patriotic to an intense degree, his skill in debate, his burning scorn for everything vile in the Church, his withering contempt for all shams and hypocrisies, and his overpowering eloquence and irresistible appeals and his organising genius, accumulated into a mighty force against the Pope as Antichrist, the Mass as idolatry, and the Church as unchristian, until its tremendous impact set Scotland free from the Roman system, root and branch.

Cardinal Beaton, Scotland's scourge, was assassinated in May 1547, the year after Wishart's martyrdom. The Protestants then seized the castle of St. Andrews, which they held for two months, until they were overwhelmed by French forces, who sent their protestant prisoners to the French galleys, and John Knox among them. The Franco-Scottish alliance was being firmly cemented. But the circulated Scriptures were, nevertheless, doing their effective work. Meantime, Henry VIII. of England died. He was succeeded by King Edward, who befriended Knox and set him free from the galleys. Edward's promising reign was short, and he was succeeded by the bloody Mary Tudor, whose revolting massacres of English Protestants were creating sympathy in Scottish hearts for the English sufferers of the faith. Many fled to Scotland. Knox, who fled to Geneva and was coadjutor with

Calvin there, returned on a visit to Scotland in 1555. His visit, though brief, kindled the enthusiasm of the Scottish Protestants, and, as a result, they organised themselves into a league as the "congregation of the Lord," binding themselves by the well-defined principles of their national covenant or "band." It aimed at overthrowing Roman Catholicism. The Roman Catholics retaliated with burning an aged priest named Walter Mill, at St. Andrews, in 1558, the last victim of the Roman lust in Scotland. In the same year the young Queen Mary married the Dauphin of France. Scotland was now in danger of becoming a mere appanage of France, and national patriotism resented the parading of French soldiers in the Scottish capital. There was unmistakable evidence of a simmering revolt against the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, and the French alliance. Knox returned for good in 1559. He preached with such moving eloquence at Perth that some destruction of monastic buildings followed, though not at his instigation. Mary of Guise arrived on the scene with French soldiers, and the aroused population expressed their hot indignation by more destruction. Francis and Mary in 1559 became King and Queen of France as well as of Scotland. Spain and France were then at peace, and France therefore resolved to prosecute with increased vigour its policy in Scotland. The Reformers determined to oppose, and they sought the help of Queen Elizabeth of England. It was

forthcoming. The English blockaded Leith, and English and Scottish protestant soldiers besieged Edinburgh Castle, where Mary of Guise lay seriously ill. A truce was proclaimed, which stipulated the immediate departure of all foreign soldiers. Mary of Guise died in the Castle on 10th June 1560, and her demise marked the termination of the old alliance with France and the beginning of Reformed Scotland.

III

The Scottish Estates met on the 1st of August 1560, and although Archbishop Hamilton and other prelates were present, their feeble courage could not stem the rising reforming tide. Roman Catholicism was denounced and overthrown, and Protestantism established in its place as the faith of Scotland henceforth. The *Confession of Faith*, which was quickly prepared, was read, approved, and ratified on the 17th August 1560. On 24th August the Parliament enacted that in all time coming the Pope of Rome should have "na jurisdiction nor autoritie within this realm," and annulled all past legislation contrary to the Confession, and prohibited the saying or hearing of Mass with pains and penalties of confiscation and imprisonment for all obdurate resisters. The Church was henceforth to be governed not by pope or bishop, but by a free assembly of ministers and elders, which was destined to exercise immense power and authority in the future religious and social life of Scotland. Scotland was thus set free from

Roman bondage. The night of Roman sway was long and dreary, and the children of the light that emerged from it had to wipe their eyes and steady their feet with care before the great fabric of the Reformed Church in Scotland, imposing in its dimensions and world-wide in its influence, appeared on Scottish soil. The feelings of the Scottish people were well expressed in a ballad of the time which ran :

> "Lord God, Thy face and Word of grace
> Hes lang bene hid by craft of men,
> Till at the last the nycht is past,
> And we full well their falset ken."

The Reformation in Scotland was effected and carried through with less bloodshed and more peacefully than in any of the reformed countries, yet it had in it elements of roughness inseparable from such an age and such a revolution. Charges of excess of zeal in the destruction of buildings and MSS. are not wholly unfounded, but they are tempered by the known facts that pre-Reformation buildings became dilapidated by clerical negligence and clerical greed, and that those which substantially survived natural decay in the South of Scotland did not escape the general destruction accompanying the various invasions of English soldiers. In MS. literature, Scotland was not too rich, except perhaps in Celtic. The ignorance and depravity of the pre-Reformation clerical life were not conducive to literary habits. What destruction of images, altars, and ecclesiastical ornaments

there was, followed the application of the Reformers' conviction that in a choice between the preservation of what they believed to be objects of idolatry and the salvation of immortal souls, to whom those articles were soul-ruining, there was no alternative but to remove all that impeded the ingress to the soul of the Gospel and the Christ of the Gospel—all that interposed between the sinner and the glory of the Redeemer. Everything adventitious and merely human was, therefore, resolutely removed from the pathway of the soul in its return to the living personal God, as revealed to it in all His own righteousness and mercy and love in Christ Jesus.[1] Salvation, they believed, did not depend on great cathedrals; and the beauty of holiness and the beauty of buildings were not synonymous. On the contrary, grand edifices, reared by incontinent prelates, were for centuries little better than whited sepulchres; while in reformed Scotland the warmest and devoutest piety has been associated with the baldest ecclesiastical buildings. In estimating the alleged destructive excess of the Reformers, and the harshness of their so-called intolerant language and deliverances, their revulsion from the depravity of the past, their high religious and patriotic motives, and their own valuation of all that confronted them and impeded them, should be impartially considered

[1] Cf. Hastie, *Theology of the Reformed Church*, pp. 129, 130.

in the light of their own time, and not by the standards of to-day. If so, the Scottish Reformers need no apology.

Unlike Germany, Sweden, and England and other countries, the Reformation in Scotland had to be guided without sovereign patronage or sympathy. Queen Mary of the Scots is a tragic figure in Scottish history. She was fascinating and winsome with her personal charm and gracious manners, and even her waywardness and her instability and her adroitness in diplomacy were but attractive reflections of feminine weakness. But the most skilful literary limner can never invest her affairs with Rizzio, Darnley, and Bothwell with a halo of immaculate purity and beauty. Nor can the dispassionate critic find her, in her treatment of the Reformers, but a wily compromiser, who, when she was not openly hostile, was always secretly Roman. Fortunately her conduct called for that freedom of action expressive of their own convictions, on the part of the Reformers, which accounted for the completeness of the religious revolution effected. The lesser nobility and burghers were heartily Protestant; but the greater and older nobility vacillated in many instances, poising for personal advantage. In other instances they were genuinely Roman and genuinely Protestant. But envies and jealousies between them rendered a compact Roman political body impossible. Accordingly, such a combination of circumstances rendered the Queen

helpless in resisting the Reformation with unified forces, and allowed the cleansing flow of the movement to take its natural course. It was not without good reason, therefore, that Knox wrote in 1556 that no realm on the face of the earth had the sacraments and doctrines of grace in greater purity than Scotland. For in other countries where doctrines were pure, churches and ministers retained what Knox termed "some foot steppis of Antichrist, and some dreggis of Papistrie, but we" he proceeds, "(all praise to God alone) have nothing within our churches that ever flowed from that man of synne." [1] This was only six years after the Reformation, and it was not mere picturesque and exaggerated reporting, but a simple and wonderful truth. And within the short period of twenty-one years (1560–81) papal jurisdiction was wholly abolished, the Mass was nowhere openly celebrated, and the papal growth of ages was completely uprooted; and, even more wonderful still, the *Confession of Faith* was approved by not less than three Scottish Parliaments. An erudite Roman Catholic historian still living endorses this bold claim of Knox. "To the outward eye," writes Father Pollen, "Scottish Catholicism seemed hopelessly destroyed, and, in fact, it never rose again." As an illustration of its utter helplessness, not one Scottish bishop had the courage to go to the Council of Trent, "Henry Sinclair, bishop of Ross, now being a judge

[1] Laing's *Knox*, vol. ii. pp. 263, 264.

in the temporal courts, was positively vexed at being asked " by De Gouda. So says this Roman Catholic historian.[1]

IV

The great cities heartily accepted the Reformation, and congregations sprang up rapidly everywhere. There were certain territorial magnates who remained for a time loyal to Rome, but even as early as the second decade after the Reformation, few of these continued in their old attachment. The Reformers, acting on their Church-reforming principle—corrective and formative, anti-pagan and organising—set themselves the tremendous and difficult task of not only uprooting an ancient and firmly rooted system, but of filling up the vast void, thus created, by another system, the true Church, in all its features to conform to the New Testament norm. Having accomplished the first part of their task, with equal courage and resource they addressed themselves to the second. Their programme of reconstruction can be found in the *Confession of Faith*, their *Book of Discipline*, and their *Book of Common Order*. These readily yield to us the aims and aspirations of the Reformers with respect to doctrine, government, and administration.[2]

[1] Pollen, *The Counter-Reformation in Scotland* (1921), pp. 17, 20.

[2] Cf. Hay Fleming, *Reformation*, pp. 241–277 ; MacEwen, *History*, vol. ii. pp. 139–178.

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The Scots Confession, under which the Church for eighty-seven formative years fought her battles, won her victories, moulded the theology and the character of a nation, and inspired a people with religious enthusiasm,[1] was produced, with unparalleled quickness, in four days. And yet it is the reverse of what Karl Barth alleges all confessions, "without serious theological preparation," must be, namely, "terribly wearisome, unoriginal, eclectic, and purposeless."[2] On the contrary, it has Biblical insight, it bears the scars of past battles, and behind it stood the recognition of the supreme necessity of obeying the will of God, and of meeting a dire need. Each of the six men who framed it bore the Christian name of John, and they are known as the six Johns. They were no novices, but matured thinkers, who do not indulge in facile generalisations, but are clear and specific. Their training, their travels, and their acquaintance with the reformed thought of England and the Continent fitted them for their task. John Knox was at Frankfort, Geneva, Dieppe, and in various parts of England. John Willock was in England. He fled from England to Emden. There he could know of the work of À Lasco, the reformer of Friesland. John Spottiswoode was a convert

[1] Cf. Smellie, *The Reformation in its Literature* (1925), pp. 269–288.

[2] Karl Barth on "A Common Statement of Faith," *Proceedings of Presbyterian Alliance* (1925), p. 138.

of Cranmer and received protestant orders from the famous Archbishop. He visited France in the entourage of Queen Mary on the occasion of her marriage with the Dauphin, just one year before the French Protestants organised themselves into a national Church. John Douglas taught as a Regent in the Montague College in Paris. John Row was for nine years in Rome and Padua, where he studied Canon and Civil Law, and probably spent some time in France. Of the six, John Winram alone never went outside of Scotland. The primary aim of the Confession was the overthrow of the papistical Church and the reformation of religion and morals. While it has characteristics of a local colouring, it agrees in the main, in its definitions of doctrine, with other Reformed or Calvinistic Confessions. It consists of twenty-five chapters.[1] In these the great Conciliar Creeds — Apostles, Nicene, and Athanasian—are accepted, even though there is no direct reference to them. The evangelical doctrines of the Atonement and Justification by faith are enunciated with great clearness and devoutness. Predestination is mentioned with tenderness and solemn awe, but reprobation finds no place in it. The true Church is succinctly and precisely defined as distinguished from "the pestilent synagogue, which Satan has decked with the name of the Kirk." The "notes" of this true Church are

[1] Laing's *Knox*, vol. iii. p. 95 ff.; Dunlop, *Collection of Confessions* (1722), vol. ii. p. 15 ff.

"not antiquity, not title usurped, not lineal descent, nor place appointed, nor multitude of men approving an error"; but the "notes" are: (1) The true preaching of the Word of God; (2) the right administration of the Sacraments; and (3) ecclesiastical discipline rightly administered as God's Word prescribes for the repression of vice and the nourishment of virtue.

More important, as more unique, in many respects than the *Confession of Faith* itself, was the *First Book of Discipline*—one of the four great books of Scotland. Produced in twenty days (29th April to 20th May 1560) by the same six Johns, it is illuminated throughout by the genius of Knox, in a grand effort to reform the religion of Scotland in a systematic manner, and it has left an abiding impress on Scottish religion and life. Its aim or policy was uniformity in doctrine, sacraments, election, and sustenance of the ministry, ecclesiastical discipline, interests of the poor, and advancement of education. It embodied what were the animating ideals and aspirations of renascent Scotland. It laid down the foundation for the future national life on a basis of pure religion. But to know this pure religion it was necessary that education should become universal, and that every class of the community should be sharers in its benefit, and thereby could be created the conditions requisite for a healthy and intelligent public opinion. This ideal was wholly incompatible with the very

being of the Church of the Middle Ages, and the bold and successful attempt to realise this ideal is itself the clearest evidence of the revolution effected by the Reformation. The religious purpose of education was kept in the foreground, as the authors point out in their appeal to the civil magistrates for a system of national education. "Seeing," they wrote, "that the office and duties of the godly magistrate is not only to purge the Church of God from all superstition, and to set it at liberty from bondage of tyrants, but also to provide to the uttermost of his power how it may abide in the same purity to the posterities following, we cannot but freely communicate our judgments with your honours in this behalf." As they conceived the highest interests of the State to be religious, they claimed for the Church the right to regulate education in all its departments, having these high purposes of education in view. So much was this the case that Knox, in the very year he died, wrote this significant warning: "Above all things preserve the Kirk from the bondage of the universities." The general aim of the *Book of Discipline* can be described under the three heads: (1) Ministry, (2) Education, and (3) Discipline.

1. Ministry.—Although the full Presbyterian Government did not emerge till 1581, seminally such Government was in the very basis of the Reformation, as the *Book of Discipline* proves. It abolishes all forms of hierarchy in the Church and

social order. The Church is the people of God, and the voice of the humblest is on a par with that of the highest in electing ministers, elders, and deacons, and through them, in regulating the nation's religion. Accordingly the equality of all persons in the sight of God must be recognised by the Church at all times ; so it followed that the oppressed poor should be delivered from the grinding tyranny of the "cruel beasts the papists," and equally cruel tyranny of lords and lairds who owned the Church's patrimony. But "stubborn and idle beggars" were to be sternly discouraged, but the cause of the widow, the orphan, and the aged and impotent poor, was to be warmly and compassionately espoused, and provision for such was to be made from the Church's resources, absorbed by the nobility. Here, then, was liberty for the oppressed, and their emancipation was effected without anarchy or bloodshed, because the regulating principle was spiritual and religious, and not merely social and political.

2. Education.—Although there was a dearth of "godly and learned men," the *Book of Discipline* frowned on the idea of an easy way to the ministry, and set at once a high standard of educational qualifications as requisite for all ministers. The aim of all preaching was to be instructional and convincing, without controversy, except when dealing with papistry, and not sentimental or emotional. It had to be systematic and methodical by avoiding

haphazard choosing of texts. Scripture must be expounded consecutively, that the people might know the whole teaching of Scripture in an edifying way, and the fruit and effect of that teaching were to be ascertained at diets of catechising of the people. Weekly "exercises" were enjoined to which all ministers within reasonable distance were invited to come, to discuss Scripture doctrine. Over this meeting a moderator was to preside to check any tendency to depart into invective or irrelevancy. Here was the germ of the Presbytery. General education was not to be secular, but was to be pervaded by religious truth. The grand scheme adumbrated here and elsewhere by Knox of a school in every parish, and an equality of privilege for every Scot to rise in the ladder of knowledge up to the University,[1] aimed essentially, as was already pointed out, at the creation and development of a thoroughly Christian nation. The Book closes its reference to education with an impressive reminder to the nobility that "wisdom and learning" are an immeasurably more valuable bequest to posterity than "earthly treasures," "which, without wisdom, are more able to be their ruin and confusion than help or comfort." [2]

3. Discipline.—The Word of God was to be the life and soul of the Church, but godly conduct and discipline were to be the sinews to knit and join

[1] Cf. Kerr's *Scottish Education* (1910), pp. 76, 79.
[2] Dunlop's *Confessions*, vol. ii. p. 561.

the members together in beauty and comeliness of conduct. The object of discipline was threefold: (1) That men of evil conversation should not be numbered among God's children to their Father's reproach, as if the Church of God were a sanctuary for the vile; (2) that the good would not be infected by companying with the vile; and (3) that a man thus corrected, or excommunicated, might be ashamed of his fault, and so, through repentance, come to amendment of life. Capital crimes were to be punished by both the civil and spiritual sword, because "accursit papistrie" made virtue and vice synonymous. Drunkenness, intemperance in eating, drinking, clothing, and speaking, fornication, and oppression of the poor, licentious living, slandering, and wantonness were punishable by Church courts. With fine impartiality, but at a costly price, discipline was administered. Ministers of religion, Treasurers of State, and noble Countesses, were all alike dealt with, harshly or tenderly, as delinquents showed defiance or meekness. For the discipline was not intended to be an instrument of torture to create artificial godliness, but as a rod of correction to inspire awe and respect for God's law and word.

The *Book of Common Order* was a directory for public worship. It was an enlarged form of the *Order of Geneva* used in the English congregation at Geneva. "If not partly prepared by Knox,

it was certainly sanctioned by him." [1] Only two of the seven sacraments of Rome are retained, namely, Baptism and the Lord's Supper. At baptism, godfathers and sponsors are at first recognised, but they are dismissed later as mere gossips, and the father alone was expected to hold the child for baptism. Confirmation, holy orders, and apostolic succession found no place in this directory. The Sacraments could only be administered rightly after a lawful minister instructed the people in their import, the mercy and grace of God offered, and the promises attached, without any accretions to, or deductions from, the institution of the Lord and practice of the Apostles. The Reformed, as against the Zwinglian and Lutheran view of the Supper, was adopted. Calvin's definition dismissing consubstantiation was accepted and adopted, and true faith was made to be a mystical but real action to lift the partaker far above earthly things, enabling him to feed on the body and blood of the Lord. Against Zwinglians it stated that the rumour that the Scottish Reformers regarded the Supper as "nothing else but naked and bare signs, was but a base slander." This was an answer to the bitter and fierce excesses of the Lutheran polemics against the Reformers.[2]

[1] Hay Fleming, *Scotland's Supplication and Complaint* (1927), p. 3.
[2] Cf. Hastie, *Theology*, p. 44.

V

It thus appears that a recent writer, Friedrich Heiler, while unsympathetic and partly grotesque in the picture [1] he draws of the service of continental Calvinism, unconsciously, perhaps, sets forth the service of the sanctuary as altered by the Scottish Reformers. "And finally," writes Heiler, "the principle *Soli Deo gloria!* is the foundation of that fierce and fanatical Puritanism which is the most obvious outward characteristic of the Calvinistic service. The people must worship God in Spirit and in truth. Therefore all symbolism, all ornament, all stateliness of ceremonial is *tabu*, unclean, sinful; altar-pieces and crucifixes, candles and flowers, alb and chasuble, choir-singing and organ music—all this is vain show which distracts men's minds from God, which directs the gaze not to the ultimate Truth, but to something between, and thus detracts from the Glory of God. . . . Away with everything, then, that recalls the abomination of the papist Mass." And this eloquent and passionate herald of neo-Catholicism gives the best justification and strongest defence of the service that he appears to ridicule, when he truthfully states that "the ruling principle in the Calvinistic service is the closest adherence to the Bible." That was the case in Scotland, at least, until within recent times.

John Row, the contemporary historian of the

[1] Heiler, *The Spirit of Worship* (1926), p. 98.

Scottish Reformation, claimed in reference to the Confession and polity of the Reformed Church in Scotland that the ministers who formulated both, "took not their pattern from any Kirk in the world, no, not fra Geneva itself; but, laying God's Word before them, made Reformation according thereunto, both in doctrine first, and then in discipline, when and as they might get it overtaken." [1] This is true only as far as they were not slavish transcribers of the Confessions and written polities. They did, as their successors at Westminster in 1644 admitted, learn from the Churches in which they were educated, and from the Reformers with whom they conversed, as the Romans learned from the Greeks, and after comparisons, built up their own on the foundations of the apostles.[2] I have indicated how the "six Johns" came in contact with reformed thought and practice. Knox was a Reformer before he was mastered by Calvin, but of Calvin's followers few have been so Calvinistic. The *Institutes* are easily discernible in the Scots Confession, and through it, and the little Catechism which was taught in the schools and translated into Gaelic, Calvin, without ever setting foot on Scottish soil, contributed more than any other person to the formation of Scottish character. In addition to what has been said, it is important to remember that

[1] Row, *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, p. 12.

[2] *Reformation of Church Government in Scotland cleared from some Mistakes and Prejudices* (1644), pp. 10, 11.

the Scottish Church from an early date watched with serious anxiety the fortunes of their co-reformers in the Low Countries. In an urgent request to the Scottish nobility to attend the Assembly in July 1567,[1] they were asked to bear in mind that by the "cruell decreit of the last Counsell of Trent" it was determined to exterminate all Protestants in Europe, and that in France and Flanders this determination was being cruelly executed. In 1582, according to Row, the Assembly were informed that certain papists in the congregation at Campvere were claiming immunity, and the Assembly agreed to give their "wholl power to the minister of Campheir to proceed aganis them, requesting the Conservator to assist him."[2] But up to 1569 the Protestants of the Low Countries, with perhaps the single exception of Friesland, could not, owing to the long years of Spanish persecution, organise themselves but as secret congregations. There was a rally round William the Silent, and an attempt was made to arrive at uniformity of Church constitution. Polities were set forth at Emden in 1569, at Dordrecht in 1572, and at The Hague in 1585–86, and these in the main followed the lines of the French and Swiss Churches.[3] Those drawn up by the States of Holland and Zeeland and their confederates in 1577,

[1] *Acts of Assembly*, vol. i. p. 94.

[2] Row, *Historie*, p. 90.

[3] Cf. Janet G. MacGregor, *The Scottish Presbyterian Polity* (1926), p. 105.

and by the States of Holland in 1590, followed chiefly the Genevan polity. But in all these polities there were no serious constitutional changes on the French or Genevan polity. But through Knox, and later through Melville, all these traits would have been known earlier in Scotland. Row maintained that the Scottish Reformers built up their Confession and Constitution, with " God's Word " before them, on the foundation of the Apostles. So did all the Reformed Churches build, and that there is close similarity between the Confessions and Constitutions of all the Reformed Churches is not complete evidence that one borrowed from the other ; nor does it exclude the possibility that the Scottish Reformers were influenced by À Lasco's church for foreigners in London, by Pullain's church in England for French fugitives, or by Lambert's Hessian polity of 1526, or by the later polities of the Churches of Holland.[1] But the general uniformity of all Calvinistic Confessions and Constitutions becomes evident, and so one sees in that distant past a visible foundation for a universal and united Calvinism on which unfortunately, however, the hopes of Calvin never attained to practical fruition.

The thoroughness of the Reformation in Scotland is unmistakable. So are also the labour and toil of rebuilding the Reformed Church. Temporary expediencies like " Superintendents " and " Readers " were set up to bring the ministries of mercy to a

[1] Cf. Kuyper, *J. à Lasco Opera I.–II., passim.*

delivered but pastorless people.[1] Congregations were formed everywhere, where the services were as apostolic as the doctrine, and where every accessory from image to instrument was thrown out. The revolution was as complete in service as in doctrine, in observances as in religious duties. The impact was tremendous, and reacted with most blessed results. What was useless was destroyed, and what was base and degrading was cast aside with the dead past. There was reared in its stead on newer, but older as apostolic, foundations in every sphere of life a noble, free, clean, and righteous structure which has stood terrible tests, and has given to Scotland its high and enviable distinction among the nations of the earth. Knox, at whose open grave the Earl of Morton said truly: "Here lies one who neither feared nor flattered any flesh,"[2] died in 1572, making this noble bequest to the Scottish nation, which they were to guard and nourish with that loyalty and devotion to truth that he so brilliantly illustrated. His mantle fell on a worthy successor, Andrew Melville, one of Scotland's scholarly and noble sons. He directed the destinies of the Church into present-day Presbyterian channels, declaring the equality in rank of all ministers, abolishing bishops, who were intruded on it, as unlawful, and in 1580–81 the system of Presbyterianism became permanently established, with the love of freedom, and respect

[1] *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, vol. iii. p. 876.
[2] Cf. M'Crie, *Life of John Knox*, p. 278.

for the Word of God, in the hearts of the people! The story of next century is that of a long and gory struggle for the preservation of these precious possessions, precisely as Knox predicted in his farewell sermon in 1571, when he said: "What I have been to my country, albeit this unthankful age will not know, yet the ages to come will be compelled to bear witness to the truth." [1]

[1] Quoted in Eleanor M. Brougham's *News Out of Scotland* (1926), p. 75; cf. M'Crie's *Knox*, p. 270.

LECTURE II

THE CROWN AND THE CHURCH

(SEVENTEENTH CENTURY)

LECTURE II

THE CROWN AND THE CHURCH

I

THE seventeenth century showed, over Western Europe, a marked change with reference to material and religious concerns.

In England, secular interests became of greater moment than concern for the Church and religion. Holland, where fierce and bloody wars of religion and persecution continued with little respite in the sixteenth century, became a prosperous nation of traders in the seventeenth century, and in France during the latter part of that century Louis XIV. made the Church his cat's-paw for personal aggrandisement, while in Germany the secularising process that began about the middle of the century continued with increased momentum to the end of the century and beyond it. In Scotland alone there was heard with little cessation, during the seventeenth century, the reverberating sound of arms in a deadly struggle for the crown rights of the Redeemer.

The British Revolution of 1689 was the inevitable culmination of the religious and civil aspirations of

the Scottish Reformers. The revolt of 1638–40 against Charles I. and Laudian ecclesiasticism marked the beginning of the Stewart policy of repression of the Covenants, and the religious and civil ideals they embodied, by methods of such cruelty—evoking heroic resistance—as make, the reigns of Charles II. and James VII. in particular, the most pitiful, the most revolting, and at the same time the sublimest and most impressive period in Scottish History.[1] It was a period of intolerance, but such intolerance was necessary for Scottish freedom, and whether this much-decried intolerance is examined in its origin or in its national and religious effects, no true Scottish patriot can deny its justification. The revolt began in Scotland, but it was England that completed it; but if the Stewarts were overthrown by English power, it was the Scots who taught them how to fight against regal despotism.

Let us now briefly survey the salient features in the great national struggle that continued with little respite for a hundred years.

Two irreconcilable ideals were struggling for mastery. On the one hand there was the fondly cherished belief on the part of the Stewart Kings that the Prince's will was the source of all law, or, in other words, that the sovereign had the inherent and divine right to dictate to his subjects the religious beliefs, the Church polity, and civil government which

[1] Hume Brown, *Surveys of Scottish History* (1919), p. 69.

they must accept. On the other hand, the vast bulk of the Scottish people had the unshakable conviction that the Bible alone was the source of all authority in the region of creeds and polity, and that it alone could dictate to their consciences with divine authority the imperative commands which they must obey, and that the King was ruler merely to give effect to these. The State therefore through King or Parliament had no right to control the Church, but merely to co-ordinate the State's efforts with those of the Church to bring in the Kingdom of righteousness. This view was tersely put before King James in Falkland Palace by Andrew Melville as he caught "God's sillie vassal" by the sleeve, and said to him: "Sir, as diverse times before I have told you, so now again I must tell you, there are two Kings and two Kingdoms in Scotland: there is King James, the head of this Commonwealth; and there is Christ Jesus, the King of the Church, whose subject King James the Sixth is, and of whose Kingdom he is not a King, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member."[1] This prerogative gradually claimed by James VI. of being the "supreme governor of the Kingdom over all persons and in all causes," was entirely alien to the traditions of the Scottish Kingdom, and can be traceable, in part at least, to the evil influence[2] of Esmé Stewart, Lord of Aubigny, who instilled into his receptive mind

[1] M'Crie's *Life of Andrew Melville*, p. 181.
[2] Hume Brown's *Surveys*, p. 55.

views of kingly absolutism illustrated at the Court of Henry III. of France ; and with them he sowed the seed of Scotland's future woes.

II

James VI. himself was the comic offspring of the tragic union of Queen Mary with Darnley, and perhaps as a result of the Rizzio murder in his mother's presence when she was carrying him in her womb, he lacked moral and physical courage, and was terrified of cold steel. He, however, had scholarly tastes, as a pupil of George Buchanan could not fail to have, but he was a pedant to the core, who was always as proud of unbuttoning his knowledge as he was of asserting his self-importance. But he knew Scotland, and although he claimed to rule his people "by a Clerk of the Council," [1] he tried to ameliorate their lot, and he advanced many national interests. He encouraged the translation of the Authorised Version of the Bible, and thereby, quite unconsciously, helped to create the weapon that finally shattered the dagon of absolutism. The reading of the Bible and family prayers became a national custom among all classes. No literary movement in the annals of the Scottish race is at all comparable to the issuing of the Authorised Bible in its effect on their character, imagination, and intelligence, by creating the habit of reading and reflection in whole classes of the

[1] *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. xxv.

community. King James was Calvinist enough to send Calvinists to the Synod of Dort (1618–19); but when Calvinism infringed on his divine right to rule as he liked and to live loosely as he pleased, his liking for it is best expressed by his own sparkling epigram that, "as Papistry is a disease on the mind, so is Puritanism on the brain." [1] From his earliest days James had one supreme ambition, and it was to be Queen Elizabeth's successor on the throne of England. So obsessed was he with this idea, that a Jesuit writer of the time, with uncommon nearness to the truth, says "he would take the crown from the hand of the Devil himself." [2] Alongside this ambition was a pet aversion, namely, Presbyterianism. For according to himself, Presbytery "agreeth as well with a monarchy as God and the devil." In 1581 the Assembly at Glasgow, under the leadership of Andrew Melville, decided that Presbytery and not Episcopacy should be the polity of the national Church. James, under pressure from his advisers, concurred. But once he reached the English Throne the object nearest his heart was to assimilate the Scottish Church to the model of the Church of England.[3] In 1584 the "Black Acts" were passed by a subservient

[1] *R.P.C.S.*, vol. xii. p. 563; Calderwood's *History*, vii. p. 508.

[2] Forbes Leith, S.J., *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, p. 270.

[3] Cf. Sheriff Orr's *Alexander Henderson* (1919), p. 19 ff.; Hay Fleming's *Scotland's Supplication*, p. 24 ff.

Parliament, and by these Acts James became the absolute master of the bodies and souls of his subjects. By them the King was to be head of the Church as well as the State, and no assemblies could be held without his sanction. Bishops were to be appointed, and their appointment was to be solely in the King's hands ; and any public expression of opinion on the part of ministers of religion was to be regarded as treasonable.

The bulk of the Scottish people endeavoured resolutely to thwart this subversion of their Presbyterianism. But in 1618 in General Assembly, and in 1621 in Parliament, a bench of Bishops was set up, and the Five Articles of Perth, embodying James' notion of divine service, were declared to be the law of the Church of Scotland. Kneeling at Communion, private communion, private baptism, observance of Church festivals, and confirmation by the bishops were the novel rights and ceremonies legalised by the Articles. But these laws received scant obedience from the mass of the Scottish people as being repugnant to their deepest religious feelings. The effort to enforce them, from which James never deviated, was a direct incentive to the religious revolt which followed. His Church policy was wholly in his own interest, and without regard to the religious feelings of his people, a fact which his subjects fully realised and estimated accordingly.

King James delighted to pose as a great peace-

maker, boasting that the sceptre and pen were mightier than the sword. But his well-meant pacific policy was foredoomed to failure. For his neglect of the Fleet sedulously reared by Queen Elizabeth had reduced that great fighting force to impotence. The Spanish Fleet could sail up the Channel, almost unmolested, to pursue Spain's devastating persecutions in the Netherlands. The Thirty Years War had broken out, and the forces of Roman Catholic reaction were marching from victory to victory. Bohemia and the Rhenish Palatinate were overrun, and persecutions by the Hapsburg armies in the former and by Spanish forces in the latter were threatening the extinction of Protestantism in lurid orgies. James was too proud, or, more correctly, too timid, to fight, and allowed his own son-in-law with his Queen and their infant children to be disinherited and driven from their kingdom. The great liberator of Europe, Gustavus Adolphus, now appeared on the scene. Among his forces were many of our northern clansmen, but opposed to him were also levies of soldiers of fortune from Scotland. There is, indeed, a penetrating poignancy in the sad and unintentional reproach of the great General's appeal to the Privy Council of Scotland, to prevent Scottish levies being sent to his enemies as he stood defending, in his own words, "the one northern bulwark of the Evangelicals" [1] against the Roman reaction. But

[1] *R.P.C.S.*, vol. xiii. p. lvii.

the "shambling pedant," King James, was never too proud to indulge in crooked diplomacy with Spain. At the very moment of Queen Elizabeth's death he was entertaining Nicholas Scorza, an envoy from the "Archdukes" Albert and Isabella, who had been governing the Spanish Netherlands. His wife, Anne of Denmark, recanted her Lutheranism for the Roman faith, as a result of Father Abercromby's secret communings with her. She was assisted secretly, according to Scaramelli, by such "hard-headed Scots" as James' Privy Councillors, Sir George Hume and Sir James Elphinstone, in her manœuvrings in Roman Catholic intrigues.[1] And when James had failed with his miserable scheme for a Spanish match for his son, he succeeded with a marriage scheme only one degree less fatal, by having his son Charles married to the zealous Romanist, Henrietta Maria of France, who became the mother of many troubles to sadly distracted Scotland.

III

Charles I. inherited his father's policy of absolute monarchy, but none of his knowledge of Scotland nor of his caution. The notorious Laud was Primate of England. Laud was an Arminian in theology, and he hated Calvinism. There was a phase of Arminianism, which emphasised the competence of the State in ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs, as against the Calvinistic view of the sovereignty of

[1] *Scottish Historical Review*, July 1926, p. 242.

Christ over both, which admirably suited Laud's autocratic theory. Because he hated Calvinism he, however, made the fatal mistake of thinking there was " no religion " in Calvinistic Scotland. Charles made a like mistake in thinking that he could act as absolute monarch in Scotland, even in matters of religion. Laud was an Oxford don, a self-conscious and important High Churchman who made the second fatal mistake of imagining that he could prune the prickly branches of Scottish Theology and Ecclesiasticism as easily as he could trim the wings of soaring University undergraduates. Scotsmen detested English Episcopacy, a fact which neither Laud nor Charles dimly realised, just because they saw in it some similarity to Roman Catholicism. And they had the burning conviction that Protestantism could never be safe in Scotland until the latter was wholly stamped out. When Laud therefore induced Charles to impose the liturgy on the Scottish people a light was applied to the train that had long been laid. According to Row the historian, the detested liturgy was a " Popish-English-Scottish-Mass-Service Book." [1] It was, indeed, its Roman Catholic features [2] that roused the slumbering nation into active revolt.

Episcopacy was abolished in 1638, and Presbyterianism was re-established in its place. The

[1] *Historie*, p. 398.

[2] *Scottish Historical Review*, April 1926, pp. 203, 204; *Scotland's Supplication*, pp. 60, 61.

Covenant was signed. The nation, in the words of Milton, "roused herself like a strong man after sleep, and shook her invincible locks." In the words of the latest disinterested writer of history, G. M. Trevelyan: "The Covenant with God was renewed in 1638 and embraced all ranks from the highest to the lowest. In every parish men signed it, weeping and lifting their right hands to heaven. When the Scots display emotion, something real is active within them. Indeed, the country had not been so moved since the days of Wallace and Bruce." But this genuine religious enthusiasm and emotion were not confined to Lowland Scotland. On the 25th of April 1638, there was at Inverness the most unique and imposing assemblage of almost all the northern clansmen, which ever met in one place; and the impression created by such massing of the Clans in peaceful concord is not exaggerated by the Earl of Rothes when he writes in his *Relation*[1]: "It was profest by all that it was the joyfullest day that ever they saw, or even was sein in the North; and it was marked as a speciall mark of God's goodness towards these parts, that so many different Clanes and names, among whome was nothing before but hostilitie and blood, were mett together in one place, for such a good cause, and in so peaceable a manner, as that nothing was to be seen and heard but mutuall embracements, with heartie praise to God for so happie a unione." Thus then,

[1] Pp. 106, 107.

both in north and south, Scotland was in revolt against the King, not, be it noted, because he was a king or a Stewart, for Scotland as a whole was loyal, and at times foolishly loyal, to the Stewart dynasty. But they opposed Charles because he acted on the impious assumption of his father, who infringed the constitution in making it, namely, that his subjects were bound to take their religion from him. Four years later, the English people in the Long Parliament were also in open revolt against the King. Then followed the first Bishops' War, the temporary triumph of the Covenanters, and the insincere submission of Charles. There followed upon that an alliance of the Scottish and English insurgents under the Solemn League. The ideals of universal Presbyterianism expressed by the League were noble, and reflected an intense conviction, but England was too long wedded to Episcopacy to accept them now ; and the habit of obedience to the Crown inherited from the Tudor age was too deeply ingrained in their social life to ensure a successful issue to the Alliance. Besides, the causes of the Scots and English differed in origin and in their national ends. The ground of the Scottish quarrel was wholly religious, while the English quarrel sprang from questions of polity and constitutional politics. The issue in England was the abolition of monarchy and the establishment of a Commonwealth. In Scotland, after merciless and devastating wars, the result was a dislike for the Protectorate,

and a persistent effort to induce the Monarch to be a Covenanted King. But he refused, and met his doom at Whitehall. Then Scotland, still attached to the monarchical idea, turned to his son, Charles II.

IV

Charles II. insincerely accepted the Covenants with all their implications. But an incorrigible voluptuary, who was more interested in his dogs and mistresses than in true religion, soon revealed his intention of making Scotland in religion and politics a mere dependency of England, by annulling by one sweeping stroke all Covenanting legislation since 1637, and setting up Episcopacy again. The ecclesiastical basis of national life which was erected in 1638 was thus razed to the ground. But the spirit of the builders, which exercised a profound influence on the national character, was still alive, and what they cherished as their dearest possession for time and eternity, they were not to relinquish readily for a government and polity which outraged their consciences. Charles, with a hatred of the Covenant he signed and a dread of an end like his father's, therefore bent all his energies through willing satraps to stamp out the Covenants and Covenanters in a manner so merciless and revolting as showed him and his menials men devoid of humanity, self-respect, and responsibility, and of any regard for the laws of civilised warfare. "I will acknowledge," said Lord Shaftesbury in the

House of Lords on 25th March 1679—"I will acknowledge I am not well vers'd in the particular Laws of Scotland; but this I do know, that all the Northern Countries have by their Laws an undoubted and inviolable right to their liberties and properties; yet Scotland hath outdone all the Eastern and Southern Countries in having their lives, liberties, and estates subjected to the arbitrary will and pleasure of those that govern." Charles died receiving what consolation he could from the administration of the rites of Rome and Canterbury over his dying body. Two contemporary witnesses to horrors of his reign can in their own words best depict the sufferings for conscience' sake that characterised his reign. Coke, an eminent English lawyer, and no friend of Covenanters, wrote thus:

"And that Lauderdale might not be less active in Scotland, than his brother Clifford was in England, and Buckingham and Arlington were in Holland, being arm'd with these other powers he made all sorts of people depose upon oath, their knowledge of the Persons of Dissenters, not popish meetings, in the exercise of their worship, upon penalty of fining, imprisonment, banishment, and transportation, and to be sold for slaves, imprisoning all outed ministers, who shall preach out of their families, till they give security of 5000 Marks Scots, not to do the same again: every hearer being a tenant to pay 25*l.* Scots, and cotter 12, *toties quoties*, they shall offend: and that it shall

be death for any to preach in fields or houses, where any are without doors : and 500 Marks reward for any to secure such, dead or alive : and gave order that every man for himself and all under him, should give bond, not to go to field-meetings, and to inform against, pursue, and deliver up, all outed ministers to judgment." [1]

The other witness is Michael Shields, himself a Covenanter, whose eyes had seen what his pen thus graphically describes of the savage conduct of Charles II. :

" His cruelty over the bodies of Christians, in chasing and killing upon the fields, many without sentence, and bloody butchering, hanging, heading, mangling, dismembering alive, quartering upon scaffolds, imprisoning, laying in irons, torturing by boots, thumbkins, fire-matches, cutting pieces out of the ears of others, banishing and selling as slaves old and young men and women in great numbers, oppressing many others in their estates, forfeiting, robbing, spoiling, pillaging their goods, casting them out of their habitations, interdicting any to reset them, under the pain of being treated after the same manner." [2]

Evangelical Scotland will ever remember with gratitude Holland's hospitality to the many of her pious children who fled to the warm bosom of the

[1] *Loyalty of Presbyterians* (1713), p. 368.

[2] *A Collection of Letters from 1663 to 1689* (1764), pp. 410, 411.

Netherland people from such horrors and such acts of tyranny.

V

But the cup of Scotland's woe was not yet full. Charles II. was succeeded by James VII., who, as a convinced Roman Catholic, now wished to appear in Scotland as the ally of Louis XIV. in exterminating Protestantism in Western Europe. The logical effort of James VII. in trying to force Roman Catholicism on Scotland had at least the merit of consistency with the absolutism which he inherited. But logic became a dangerous absurdity which united the separated forces of Protestantism in Scotland, with whom the stronger forces of England made common cause, in ridding the country once and for all of a constantly recurring menace to its civil and religious liberties. The Covenanters' part in the long-drawn-out and costly struggle was mainly personal as of men fighting under the constraints of conscience in view of the judgment-seat and eternity, but out of their blood and ashes sprang the tree of civil and religious liberty under whose branches Scotland has ever since been living in the safety and comfort of freedom.

During this period there were, as we noted, two irreconcilable ideals in constant clash. One of these was absolutism which James VI. derived, through D'Aubigny, from the Court of France. In the sixteenth century the tide of affairs was steadily flowing in the direction of absolutism, and the one man

who fundamentally altered the current of events was John Calvin. In the Calvinistic thought there is a natural law allied to which was the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people. By this law man has imprescriptible and inalienable rights to justice, liberty, and freedom in religion. When the pact or contract by which their rights are recognised is violated it releases the other party from obligation to keep it. The application of this law in which Knox, like Calvin, was a firm believer found its justification in the tyranny of James VII. Beza, Hotman, and Duplessis-Mornay were the most distinguished of Calvin's followers in Europe. Duplessis-Mornay's *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos* circulated freely in Scotland during the civil wars and immediately preceding the Revolution.[1] They all believed in this natural law according to which obedience is not due to princes who order "irreligious or iniquitous matters."[2] Calvin, Hotman, and Duplessis-Mornay are not in favour of tyrannicide, far less regicide; Beza does not approve of those who, without any distribution or exception, condemn all tyrannicide; but all are in agreement on the dethronement of tyranny.[3]

"Europe saved by Geneva," wrote Michelet. "Crushed under the weight of a spiritual aristocracy

[1] Cf. H. J. Laski, *A Defence of Liberty against Tyrants* (1924), p. 60.

[2] R. H. Murray, *The Political Consequences of the Reformation* (1926), p. 187.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 188.

on the one side, and ground down by the huge machine of administrative monarchy on the other," wrote that scholar and discriminating essayist, Mark Pattison, "the people under the legislation of Calvin began to feel their obligations to substitute free obedience for passive submission," "and," he concludes, "Calvinism saved Europe." [1] So it may as truly be said that Calvinism saved Britain. Moreover, the repeal of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV., James' ally, in 1685, with its consequent revolting cruelty to the Huguenots of France, and the constant intriguing of Jesuits at home, prepared the mental and emotional elements in British Calvinism for the overthrow of the spiritual absolutism which James, with a policy of ever-increasing violence and illegality, was endeavouring to force upon an outraged nation.

It was, indeed, a critical time, when Protestantism was decadent and Roman Catholicism was in the ascendant in Europe. At home the nation was bled white with bitter persecution, and staggering with constant dread, and lack of security of life or property, its social life was in a state of disorder, and its organised religious life was lacking in intensity and reality. It was at such a time that the Convention of Parliament in Edinburgh, 11th May 1689, deposed James VII. and chose William and Mary to occupy the vacant throne on terms and conditions dictated by the Convention. The acces-

[1] Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 126, 127.

sion combined the predominant moral and national resources of Holland and Britain, and accordingly proved the stay of European Protestantism, and checked the progress of victorious Rome. This epoch-making event has been described as the "glorious" and "happy" Revolution. In the main, it was the triumph of the Calvinistic political concept of the sovereignty of the people over kingly absolutism, and of the ecclesiastical polity of Presbyterianism over the Episcopal polity, much more than the conquest of irreligion by ardent spiritual forces. For it was characterised by none of the spiritual intensity and enthusiasm that marked the beginnings of the Revolution in 1638. On the contrary, perhaps the cream of Scottish piety was still scattered abroad, or on the mountains, looking with a fiercely critical antagonism on what was regarded by many as an Erastian settlement, and an abrogation of the Covenant ideals.

VI

King William III., who ascended the throne, was a sagacious monarch who, unlike his predecessors, sought to govern according to the wish of the governed. He was a clear-sighted diplomat, but an eclectic in ecclesiastical polities, and phlegmatic to the extent of ruthlessness in his temperament. Many estimates of his person and character have been given. This new pen portrait of the illustrious

Dutchman and his Queen at dinner, drawn by a clergyman on 2nd February 1690, from the vantage-ground of the gallery of the dining-hall at Whitehall, London, and worthy of a smart Court reporter of to-day in its minute and graphic estimate, may not be amiss : " They were," says the clerical reporter, " served in golden plate and silver dishes. Salt and sugar boxes, knives and forks, were gold. They had only two services and sweetmeats. The first was of pig, turkey, duck, roast-beef, lemon ; the second, fritcasie, goose, capon, pigeon, tarts, etc. To the Ladies spectators were distributed some of the conserves and sweetmeats after dinner. The napkins of damask were rolled up in the way of a ruff. The King and Queen (not near him) sat under a red velvet canopy tissued with black. Where they sat was raised from the floor. The Queen ate much better than the King. They drank small Rhemish, 2 glasses, and at last one of sack, all of a large size. King William was apparelled in brown cloth, with buttons, and blue waistcoat tissued with strip and lace gold, a black beaver cokt on left side. He is phlegmatic, and did spit much at dinner. Queen Mary, fat and of a lively colour, clothed in a gown of brown with broad purple and white strips, in some places only, one in breast, back, and compassing each arm, her breast embroidered with aurange, a stomacher white and blue, a sable about her neck, common gauze white hood with a black end and a topknot of purple

and white flowered, and in nothing frolic or vain." [1]

Whether the distance between the King and Queen at dinner was ceremonial etiquette, or an illustration of the alleged coolness between them, we need not inquire too closely, but that William was phlegmatic is proved, and with that one cause of his callous indifference to the horrible massacre of Glencoe.[2] The staid composure of both the King and Queen is in striking contrast to the flippancy and repulsive vanity and garish show of the Stewart royal Court.

By the Revolution settlement Scotland was freed from the continued attempt of Louis of France to impose Gallican Catholicism — none the less dangerous that it was Gallican—upon a people who hated Catholicism whether Gallican or papal, root and branch. But more important, it saved Protestantism in Western Europe. For Britain and Holland, jealous rivals in trade and admiralty, under the tutelage of William, then the greatest statesman in Europe and the head of the executive in both countries, gradually contracted habits of close co-operation for purposes of war as absolutely essential for successful warfare against Louis. The successful battle of La Hogue was the outcome, and from that hour Louis of France was, like Philip of Spain before him, hunted down by a fleet of

[1] Kirk's MS. *Diary*, Edinburgh University Library.
[2] Macaulay's *History*, vol. ii. pp. 332–343.

ships that he never saw, while his threatened hegemony had utterly vanished from being the dread of Protestantism in Europe. It was not, however, without some reason that Covenanters stigmatised William's policy as Erastian, and so justified their refusal to accept the terms of settlement. He hesitated, and, indeed, seemed to avoid the necessity of a Presbyterian settlement without Erastian control, until the finding of his estates had compelled him to acquiesce in a decision which had not his hearty approval. Dr. David Williamson of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, and certain Scottish noblemen, waited on him with the considered judgment of his estates in an address, "edged" with what a contemporary diarist calls "some stingy, keen, and irreverent expressions such as 'Dutch Erastianism.'" [1] For several days he refused to receive this deputation, on the successful issue of whose mission depended the future freedom of Scottish Presbyterianism. Then they craved an audience with him, without an address, but this was also refused. Seeing, however, that he had enraged the ministers and a great part of the nobility and gentry of Scotland against him, he deemed it politic to receive the deputation, and agree to their proposals for the re-establishment of Presbyterianism free from State control. But in a settlement, where the secular spirit prevailed over the spiritual by securing a stable equilibrium

[1] Kirk's MS. *Diary*.

between both on a basis of compromises, the King was not slow to remind the Assembly of this unpleasant fact. Appointing Lord Carmichael High Commissioner, the King gave instructions to his representative which clearly showed that the Assembly still needed assurances that the King would "maintain Presbyterian Government" in the Church. But alongside a promise to that effect was a request, which showed his toleration for Episcopacy, namely, that the Commissioner should "induce the Assembly to fill" the two hundred vacant churches in Scotland "with good and moderate men," already turned out, who "have come to a true sense of their duty"; and if the spirit of the Assembly revolted from such a proposal, and the commissioners to the north were still intent on more vacancies, he "should dissolve the Assembly."[1] This shows that the divine right was still casting its shadow across renascent Presbyterianism. The more heroic and sublime spirit of the Covenanters would have taken this proposal less complacently than the Assembly did; and the tragedy of a broken Presbyterianism in Scotland is intimately connected with the extent to which the Assembly yielded to the royal request to admit "moderate men" into the Church.

The compromise between the Church and State, the emergence of the "Moderate men," and the willingness of Presbyterians to settle the establish-

[1] *Calendar of State Papers, Dom.* 1695, *Add.*, p. 123.

ment of Presbyterianism, with a greater regard for considerations of expediency than for supernatural sanctions, show how secular interests predominated over the ecclesiastical, and the wide divergence in thought and conduct between the leaders of Presbyterianism in 1638 and 1690.

VII

The Revolution, which was practically a bloodless revolution, was, however, regarded as "glorious" and "happy," and was immensely popular. A contemporary Presbyterian historian [1] gives expression to the general feeling in these words of bold assurance, tainted, unfortunately, with some uncharitableness: "We have therefore," he writes, "one of the best causes to assert, the firmest human laws that can be devis'd to support it, and our Gracious Queen at the head of 'em, all the Protestant Churches in the world on our side, and none but Papists, and some distracted people who call themselves Protestants against it, whose part no Protestant can take but at the expense of his conscience, honour, and interest." The claim to world approval and the unchristian effort to discredit and question the sincerity of "some distracted people" who could not conscientiously accept the terms of settlement are a clear indication of the wave of enthusiasm that spread over all the land. It was an enthusiasm for peace after a long and costly strife which could not

[1] *Loyalty of Presbyterians*, pp. 393–488.

understand the feelings and sorrows of those who could not share in the common joy. And then, too, as in the time of every popular religious movement, since the days when believers at Antioch were nicknamed Christians, men of conviction were disliked by the crowd in whose enthusiasm they could not share. So was it that the youthful James Renwick, who was ordained at Grōningen a minister of the Universal Church, one of the saintliest and most fragrant flowers of the Covenants, was offensively described as a "Jesuit." [1] A nickname is the badge which the multitudes in many lands compel sincere minorities against the popular wish to bear.

Episcopacy was disestablished and disendowed, without serious murmur against the change, for apparently Episcopalians hung loosely to their polity and government. In 1690, according to one of them, the "regular clergy stirred up the people to parley with King James" "that no oaths be imposed upon them," and to "moderate the government so that any good minister might safely be of its communion." [2] If that should happen, "it would make 100,000 more friends to King William, and it would soon create a peace and perpetuate it too." [3] It was a matter of expediency, apparently, rather than of conscience. No wonder, then, though

[1] *A Vindication of the Presbyterians in Scotland* (1692), p. 17.

[2] Kirk's *Diary*. [3] *Ibid.*

many of the 100,000 found their way into the new Establishment, carrying with them an accommodating and "moderating" spirit which had an effect on the Scottish Church which can be read in the tragic story of the Church in the following century.

LECTURE III

MODERATES AND EVANGELICALS

(EIGHTEENTH CENTURY)

LECTURE III

MODERATES AND EVANGELICALS

I

When King William commanded the Assembly to admit " Moderate men " into the vacancies that had arisen in the Church consequent on the Revolution settlement, he was, unconsciously perhaps, but nevertheless quite accurately, giving expression to a Laodicean spirit in religion that began to assert itself under the name of Moderatism, and attained to its full power before the end of the eighteenth century, at the terrible cost of the tragic divisions of a once united Presbyterianism.

The secular spirit, which manifested itself early in the century in material interests, had its influence in the sphere of thought and religion. The Latitudinarianism of England, the Enlightenment of Germany, and the Newtonianism of France were sending waves to Scotland whose impact threatened to drive the Church from her moorings in the creed and theology of the Reformation. Christian theology and even the Christian religion were openly denied. Human reason was rapidly becoming the sole arbiter of all beliefs. The physical sciences were dominated by a spirit of doubt, and in most of the seats of

learning in Scotland unrestrained unbelief reigned. Where God was believed in, He was the remote, cold, uninterested God of English Deists, but of Him there was no revelation. The Bible, therefore, was regarded by many as a mere tradition, and learned Professors in Edinburgh met in their clubs on Sunday mornings to ridicule its claims and lampoon its contents.[1] A wide wave of infidelity spread over the whole land, and not only did disappointed "hillmen" wail because of it, but less extreme Presbyterians and zealous priests joined in the common lamentation. Blasphemy, profaneness, and immorality were rife, and among the ministers there was a religious panic. In fact, when, forty years after the Revolution, David Hume, then only twenty-eight years old, gave to the world his *Treatise of Human Nature,* which won for Scotland the unenviable notoriety of being a nation of infidels, he merely systematised and gave precision to the common infidelity of the Revolution times. How could Christianity be maintained as a religion and a theology against its enemies? was the question that confronted many. And panic-struck ministers, instead of holding tenaciously and faithfully by revelation and its contents, and the reformed faith in the accepted formularies, began its defence by a public process of compromise. They then, as Moderate men, began their process by claiming to exercise the widest personal freedom in the

[1] Wodrow's *Analecta*, vol. i. p. 323.

acceptance of doctrine, with a corresponding denial to others of their right to cherish and preach the full evangel with all the ardour and enthusiasm that their convictions and experiences made imperative. In the post-Revolution Church this feature came early into evidence. A code of ethics dictated by human reason soon took the place of definite doctrine; while the code of conduct prescribed for Christians had as its regulative characteristic an accommodation to the world and compatibility with its pleasures. This depressing moral and religious condition of Scotland at, and after, the Revolution was Episcopacy's unattractive legacy to Presbyterianism. Although Episcopacy may not be wholly blameworthy, yet far too many of its curates were of the ignorant and irreligious sort described by Burnet [1] and Fraser of Brea.[2] It is clear, however, that the covenanting Presbyterianism of Scotland lost much of its spiritual vitality. The great reformed doctrines were being rapidly emptied of their vital contents. The Authority of the Bible was impugned, the tone of morality was low, and the clergy were held in light esteem. Such a time and such conditions called for heroic faith, but they were met by men in a panic, ready at all costs to make peace, who compromised in genuine fear of the fate of religion.

[1] Burnet's *History*, vol. i. p. 158.

[2] Fraser's *Lawfulness and Duty of Separation from Corrupt Ministers*, p. 50.

But there were ministers and laymen in Scotland then who were loyal to the reformed faith, and to whom the surrender by the Moderates of Revelation as divine was as obnoxious and as not dissimilar to the religious infidelity this surrender was ostensibly intended to counter. These Evangelicals felt that revelation, being divine and self-attested, as proved by experience, should not be whittled down, nor filched of an iota of its contents, except at the hazard of an unlimited excision of its doctrines, authority, and character. Nor were they ready at the bidding of proud reason to make a surrender such as the Moderates regarded as expedient and even necessary. A lifeless morality was the alternative to a living religion. So the Moderates and Evangelicals were divided by differences that were vital, and which could not admit of compromise. The conflict that arose between them is the most dominant religious fact of the century, for it involved what Christianity really consisted in, and the right and freedom that it conferred. The long and bitter struggle was finally waged round the rights of Christian people to choose who should preach to them the Christian gospel. The Moderates, thus, stood for a formal and coherent religion devoid of zeal—a religion in which there was wanting the guidance of conviction and the inspiration of feeling. The Evangelicals were described by them as "high flyers," because they dealt with the mysteries and spirituality of religion, not by means

of a cold and pompous code, but in a manner of dependence on divine grace which exhaled an aroma of real piety and awoke feelings of deep devotion.

II

The two parties came for the first time into serious conflict in the second decade of the century. Spacious speculative thinking was a characteristic of the culture of the time. In the domain of theology, the legacy of Arminianism bequeathed by Laudian episcopacy was manifesting itself among many of the ministers, who, in their youth, knew no other religious atmosphere but that of the Scottish Episcopal Church. On the other hand, there was a stream of thought running straight from the fountain-head of the Scottish reformed faith which had its own devoted adherents.

The seat of the heresy which occasioned the first collision between these opposing views was Glasgow University, and the heresiarch was Professor John Simson.[1] This heresy was the first instalment of Arminianism paid out to the Presbyterian youthful divines of Scotland. Simson, who claimed to have received instruction from Professor John Marck of Leyden, seems to have been one of these men whose chief intellectual delight is in dialectic play with solemn problems unsupported by that force of moral conviction that always commands respect. This heresy case is the most remarkable in the annals

[1] See *Processes against Simson.*

of the Scottish Church as to its duration from 1714 to 1729, in respect of the great and widely distributed erudition in the Church which it brought to light, its involved and subtle character, and the pusillanimous retraction of the heretic. The heresy itself is described by the popular historian of the time, Patrick Walker, with pungent vigour as "a hotch-potch or bagful of Arian, Arminian, Socinian, Pelagian, old condemn'd damnable errors." [1] The Assembly of 1729, influenced doubtless by Simson's good family connection, dealt leniently with him by merely suspending him, and so saved him from starvation.

The next and not less important conflict of antagonistic tendencies and beliefs in the Church arose over the book known as the *Marrow of Modern Divinity*. This misunderstood book, of which many editions appeared in England, was discovered among the books of his parishioner by the famous Calvinistic preacher, Thomas Boston, whose book, the *Fourfold State*, sustained the piety of Scotland for more than a century. In the *Marrow of Modern Divinity*, Boston found, to his delight, a mirror of "a free, open, and unrestrained gospel." A part of the book was published under the patronage of Boston and some other Evangelicals. Even the title of the book was regarded as casting suspicion on its contents. "That it is indeed *Modern Divinity*, more modern than the doctrine of Christ

[1] *Six Saints of the Covenant*, vol. i. p 149.

and His Apostles," wrote the brilliant and devout Dunlop in his *Confessions*. In the hands of the common people it might become a dangerous weapon, and might tend to irreverence and false security, so urges Dunlop, for, besides the "rude" and "profane" treatment of the holy law of God, the book contained, according to him and other Evangelicals, "inaccuracies in reasoning," and "obscurities and ambiguities, which render the book very unfit for the common people, and are apt to perplex and confound them." [1] But the Assembly, led by Principal Hadow of St. Andrews, an opponent of Simson, for reasons less evangelical, condemned the teaching of the book as inculcating anti-nomianism, and in 1722, by an overwhelming majority of the Assembly, the "Marrow-men," five in number, were rebuked at the bar of the House. This decision was a resounding victory for the rapidly increasing Moderate party, and for their view, which gained momentum with their increase, that religion consisted largely in morality. It had, however, the disastrous effect of widening the cleavage of religious thought in the Church with the consequent fissure in its unity.

These antagonistic views of what the Gospel really was could remain in one religious organisation only until the party espousing them became sufficiently strong to expel or defy the other, and claim right to be the ecclesiastical custodians of

[1] Dunlop's *Confessions*, vol. i. p. cxxxv.

the faith. The forces of Moderatism were steadily accumulating from causes easily understood. In the year (1729) in which Simson was suspended, Professor Hutcheson was appointed to the Chair of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. He was an ardent and eloquent disciple of the English Deists, and he began at once to expound and systematise the new ethics on the basis of natural religion. By and by Edinburgh University capitulated its dogmas to the infidelity of Hume. St. Andrews was shedding also its old faith, and it was Aberdeen alone that ventured to speak out in the interests of traditional orthodoxy. A new system of ethics and morality having their basis in natural religion was gradually evolved. In 1743 the methods and beliefs of Hutcheson were introduced to the divinity students by his disciple Leechman, who, in that year, was appointed to the Chair of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. When all the seats of learning were thus captured for the new ethics, and the Divinity schools were too feeble or faithless to strive successfully against this bold opponent of the Covenanted Theology of the Westminster Confession, it naturally followed that the ministry replenished by the yearly output of licentiates was of the colour of their schools of training, and, consequently, Moderatism was becoming stronger and bolder in expression and action. Another factor of importance in the conflict between Moderates and Evangelicals was Patronage. In

1712, largely by the intrigues of Jacobites, an Act was passed by Parliament to restore Patronage, and designed chiefly to secure the restoration of Episcopalians to charges.[1] By this Patronage Act the right to nominate a minister to a parish lay with the patron, who might be a believer or an unbeliever, for his religious beliefs were of no account, for only his legal power counted in the supremely religious business of appointing a cure of souls. Patrons appointed their favourites, who, as a rule, reflected their religious views if they had any. The candidates available were drawn from the centres of learning already infected by natural religion, so that even when the patron might be evangelical, the suitable candidate might not be forthcoming. But by 1730 there were instances in which an unwilling people were compelled under Patronage to submit to an unacceptable ministry. This system of Patronage became then an occasion for the first murmurs of incipient revolt against the Church's authority expressed through a Moderate majority. But it was only the occasion, not the cause, of the subsequent actual secession associated with the names of the Erskines.

III

Both Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine were ardent Evangelicals and majestic Gospel preachers, who championed the scriptural rights of the people to

[1] Cf. Hume Brown's *History*, vol. iii. pp. 148, 240–242.

choose their own ministry. In 1732, Erskine preached a sermon before the Synod of Perth and Stirling, ominous in its challenge to the Assembly's authority, for which he was censured by the Synod and subsequent Assembly. Erskine stood the censure, but ignored its force, dissented, and protested. The Assembly arbitrarily refused to accept either, apparently intent on his expulsion, which took place in November 1733.[1] Subsequent Assemblies, however, implicitly revoked their decision, and made genuine efforts to regain the confidence of her irate sons; and if the sole question at issue were merely that of patronage as an ecclesiastical procedure, the Erskines could scarcely be regarded as free from the blame of schism. But judging the Assembly in 1736 by its condoning the teaching of Professor Campbell, "the first full-fledged specimen of the Moderate"[2] whom the Church had hitherto produced, there was a deeper religious question involved concerning eternal verities. It was in defence of these deep truths, believed by them to be eternally and unchangeably true, and not subject to accommodating processes in response to the ever-changing movements of the national mind, that the Erskines and their followers issued their damaging indictment of the Church which culminated in their final expulsion in 1740, and in the first break on the unity of the national Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

[1] Hume Brown's *History*, vol. iii. p. 241. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 242.

The numerous overtures sent up to the General Assembly, and the many other " papers," expressed a widespread alarm among earnest people throughout the Church at the threatened divisions and separations, but these were treated for the most part by the prevailing party with contempt or cynical indifference. For there was completely lacking among them a high sense of responsibility for guiding the religious destinies of a nation that can best be illustrated by this mocking interest in divisions expressed by a typical member of the party in these words : " A variety of sects was as much to be desired in the ecclesiastical world as the diversity of shape and colour in a bed of flowers." [1] With blinded zeal they were determined that their admiration for " variety," expressed in this aromatic metaphor, should not be lost to Scotland. The piety of Scotland, though warmly attached to a national Church as a bulwark against popery, felt constrained to seek nutrition for its soul, and freedom to exercise an enlightened Christian liberty to choose its spiritual guides, within the Secession Churches that rapidly increased throughout the land. Events followed each other so quickly as to leave to many no other alternative but separation.

The Older Moderates, as they have been described, had no liking for Calvinism. Their theological views were deeply tinged with Deism, and their attachment to the full contents of the evangel was

[1] Mathieson's *Awakening of Scotland*, p. 178.

loose and cold. Yet they were cultured, urbane, and serious-minded men of high intellectual attainments, and were generally correct in their morals. But the New Moderates who appeared about 1750 were of an entirely different stamp. These latter, combining in their persons the frivolity, levity, easy living, and religious irresponsibility of men of the world, with theological beliefs reduced to the narrowest limits, were the product of a system of thought that harmonised self-regard and disinterestedness, and identified virtue with beauty, and morality with æsthetics. The effect, according to an apologist of Moderatism,[1] in the region of faith was "absolute dogmatic atheism," and in the sphere of conduct "paganised Christian divines."

The line of demarcation between Old and New Moderatism was drawn by the division of opinion in a decisive collision over the *Tragedy of Douglas*, staged in London in 1756.[2] John Home, minister of Athelstaneford in East Lothian, was the author of this drama. Notwithstanding the commotion it created, Home was in 1756 permitted to resign his charge without any censure or rebuke such as Erskine had to face for the offence of pleading for a free gospel and the exercise of Christian liberty. The controversy which the *Tragedy* originated developed into a fierce ecclesiastical warfare, in

[1] Mathieson's *Awakening of Scotland*, chap. v.
[2] Hume Brown's *History*, vol. iii. p. 369.

which a younger generation, the latest contribution of Patronage to the Moderate party, pushed themselves into power by forced marches over the field of popular and pious sentiment, and older clerical convictions, with a characteristic intolerance of both. The leader of the New Moderates, or "fiery charioteers," as they were termed, was Principal Robertson, an erudite historian of European fame. *Vita sine literis mors est* was his motto from his youth to his death, a singularly appropriate watchword for a man of letters, but scarcely the *unum necessarium* for a Christian minister. Another type of this school was Dr. Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk. For long he was a pillar in the judicatories of the Church, and was her professed "defender against fanaticism," *i.e.* evangelicalism. More a man of the world than of letters or religion, he was a splendid judge of mutton and claret, but his pulpit ministration, according to David Hume, was "heathen morality" and a *réchauffé* of Cicero's *Academics*. But he was a firm believer in the supreme merit of the *virtus* of the warriors of pagan Rome. In a sermon,[1] in which the name of Christ is not mentioned even once, he wrote: "Virtue secures to us the protection of the Almighty. . . . Nay, even in the future world, if there is any distinction in the realms of bliss, we may be assured, that there shall be allotted the highest place for those who have deserved well of, or have died in the service of,

[1] *The Love of our Country Explained and Enforced*, 1797.

their country. Amen." In Robertson we have the cultured man of letters, who extolled reason, and quenched with it every appearance of the warm glow of the Evangel. Carlyle was of a lower type, ready to emasculate Christianity of every restraint on the levity and licence of a thoroughly mundane society. Of a different type still was the famous rhetorician and preacher, Dr. Hugh Blair, whose sermons found favour in many European countries, and not for their dogmatic theology or intensity of fervour—they were deficient in both—but rather for their literary smoothness and the charm of their serene morality.

Robertson and most of the party he led owed their charges to Patronage and their religious views to older Moderatism, and it is therefore not surprising that they bent their energies, designing their plans in Edinburgh taverns, to have both fastened firmly on the Scottish people. Having no sympathy with the Calvinism of the Erskines, or their view of spiritual independence, and as little for the longings of the common people for the warmer atmosphere of gracious religious experience, they hid from themselves the threatening significance of the Erskine revolt. To the spirit of genuine religious interest that resisted the forced settlement, accompanied in some instances by the beat of drums and clang of arms, of fifty-four undesirable ministers on an unwilling people since 1740, they responded in 1751, in the language of Carlyle of Inveresk, by

laying the foundation "for restoring the discipline of the Church." This restoration of discipline was in aim and effect that no Presbytery had any right to allow their conscientious convictions to override the legal right of patrons to place over a congregation a minister however unsuited or unworthy. The same discipline was to be exercised in matters of faith, so that the Church's teaching might be commendable to the upper classes of society. Robertson was an ecclesiastic of great sagacity, who failed, however, to foresee the deleterious effects on Scottish religious life of his rigorous discipline and his accommodating class religion.

Every representative in the General Assembly, the Supreme Court, sits there in virtue of his commission from his Presbytery. Soon the Assembly assumed the aspect of a political organisation, each party striving to exclude his opponent from sitting in it on the appearance of the least flaw in his commission. Fathers and brethren for hours, and sometimes two whole days, with much eloquence and greater ingenuity, sought to purge the roll, having always their eye on the voting strength of parties. The names of all the Commissioners of one Presbytery were "expunged from the roll," "because their commission wanted attestation altogether." For a mere slip of the pen these men were summarily ordered to resume their costly and tedious journey from Edinburgh to the distant Isle of Skye. For the absence of the impressive prefix of "Right

Honourable," inadvertently omitted from the commission of Alexander Lord Macdonald, his Lordship's right to a seat in the Assembly was seriously and solemnly disputed. The fate of Bailie Daniel Miller, of the Canongate, Edinburgh, hung long in the balance on the difference between the figures "6" and "7." In the case of the Burgh representative from Nairn, defining the distinction between "esquire" and "gentleman" was the occasion of prolonged discussion.[1] Technicality thus rapidly degenerated into burlesque.

IV

But this restored discipline, with its policy of excessive legalism, may have perfected the modes of procedure, and for that all credit is due to Robertson. It had, however, a baneful effect on the character of the ministry and on the legislative enactments and history of the Church. For unscrupulous men, who knew that no case would be carried against them in the Assembly, however convincing it might be, unless it was technically complete, were indirectly encouraged in their course of questionable living. There was a straining at the gnat to facilitate the swallowing of the camel. Notorious cases of ministerial uncleanness and various forms of misconduct gyrated round the courts of the Church for years, one in particular—M'Intosh of Moy—for

[1] MS. *Minutes of Assembly* and *Acts of Assembly*, Church of Scotland Assembly Library, Edinburgh.

eight years, 1779–87,[1] even though guilt was as patent at the beginning as when the traffickers in technicalities were satisfied at the end. As a consequence, it became almost futile to institute any process against misconduct, however notorious. A loyal minority of Evangelicals in the Church, anxious for purity in doctrine and life, were thus seriously frustrated in their actions. Thus when George Anderson, once minister of Fort William and then in his eighty-eighth year, in 1755 endeavoured unsuccessfully to secure the disapproval of the Assembly of the sceptical writings of Hume and Lord Kames, the latter described by him as "an elder who has disowned the authority of Almighty God,"[2] Blair resented the effort, declaring that the "proper objects of censure and reproof are not freedom of thought, but licentiousness of conduct."[3] Had the case been one of uncleanness instead of rank infidelity, the result, however, would have been similar. If they carried cases of obnoxious presentees, or loose-living settled ministers, to the Assembly they were sure to be defeated, with the consequence of aggrieved parishioners; and the Church they sought to save was thus deliberately breaking its own integrity and disheartening the defenders of its purity. To prove its innocence to

[1] *General Assembly Cases* (1774–1800); MS. *Assembly Papers.*

[2] MS. *Papers* (1755); Morren's *Annals*, vol. ii. pp. 54, 86.

[3] *Ibid.*

the working people of to-day of an inherited charge of class religion, which Robertson and his followers undoubtedly encouraged, is one of the many formidable tasks that confront the Church in Scotland.

The first tragic result of the stern application of the new discipline was the resolution of the Assembly of 1752 to depose one of the six members of the Presbytery of Dunfermline who, in spite of the Assembly's injunction, refused to take part in the induction of an unacceptable minister at Inverkeithing. Nine years after (1761), Thomas Gillespie, one of these, with Boston and Collier, founded the Relief Church, which continued distinct till it joined, in 1847, with the Erskine secession to form the United Presbyterian Church.

Dissent was increasing and Presbyterianism was assuming variegated hues. In 1746 a breach occurred in the first seceders over what was an unpopular exaction to many in the Church since the Revolution—an oath—and in this instance rendered more unpalatable by the demanded admission that the "true religion was presently professed within the realm." The Cameronians, or lineal descendants of the Covenanters, held aloft their own banner, which had not yet lost its attractiveness to many, and was drawing souls of kindred sympathies from the National Church. But instead of rising to the full height of their responsibility as leaders in a Church whose very existence and patrimony were intended for the national good,

irrespective of persons or classes, Robertson and his following pursued a course of singular indifference to this national ideal, and looked upon the increase in dissent but as an easy removal of obstacles in the way of their own exclusive churchism. In evidence of this, in 1766, when there were 120 dissenting meeting-houses in Scotland, with 100,000 worshippers, with heartless carelessness they turned a deaf ear to the appeals of Evangelicals within the Church, to inquire into the causes of these ugly rents in the seamless robe of the Church's Head. Their party was rapidly increasing in numerical strength. The Crown was the patron of more than a third of the livings, and the remainder were in the hands of landlords, absent and present. Aspirants to the ministry could have no hope of livings unless they conformed in their views to those of lax government officials, the resident landlords or the menials of absentees who were regaling themselves in London and Bath on the exactions drawn from an oppressed people. The pulpit ministrations and moral courage of such ministers could not be expected to rise above their self-interests.

The Old and New Moderatism which ran in parallel channels since the episode of the *Tragedy of Douglas* in 1757 gradually began to converge. The confluence of forces increased their power and daring. In the year 1786, M'Gill of Ayr was therefore bold enough to launch an elaborate Treatise on the public in which, following Taylor of Norwich,

he attacked the doctrine of the Atonement and the Deity of Christ. He was a representative of the older speculative school and had the entire sympathy of the school he represented. The new school of convivial theatre-goers, worshippers of the harmony of passions, and idolaters of æsthetics, gave him their equally hearty support. How far the latter had gained the ascendancy is best illustrated by the fact that whereas in 1757 the Assembly, sustaining the libel against Carlyle for theatre-going, enjoined that no minister should on any occasion attend the theatre, in 1784 the Assembly hurriedly adjusted its business to allow the members to witness the playing of the famous actress, Mrs. Siddons, then in Edinburgh.[1] But the underlying cause of the convergence and seeming unity of the two schools arose from their common dislike of a creed which was to both a galling yoke. To the one it was a barrier to free thought, and to the other a barrier to free living. Hence there arose a concerted movement for the elimination of the chief credal contents of the Confession contemporary with a similar movement in England. The "charioteers" became restive, and their great leader was driven into close retirement by the policy of a party which he created, but which he could scarcely now control. The movement failed, for various reasons, and not the least noteworthy was the increasing influence of the evangelical party. But

[1] Hume Brown's *History*, vol. iii. p. 369.

the spirit of disloyalty to the Reformed faith displayed in the movement remained.

V

The General Assembly of 1796 [1] stands out as the most memorable of many memorable assemblies of the eighteenth century for the "very famous debate," which took place on the 27th day of May of that year on "the propagation of the Gospel among the heathen." That debate the famous geologist and writer, Hugh Miller, describes as "the most extraordinary, perhaps, and the richest in character, that ever originated in the Courts of a Protestant Church." [2] At the time of the debate the whole country was shocked and held in terrifying awe by the wild horrors of the French Revolution. Scottish Society trembled as it saw the gilded pinnacles of French aristocracy falling to pieces before the new radicalism. Moderatism with its attenuated faith was doctrinally ill-equipped to resist the new tenets of atheism that scoffed at all sacred institutions; and in its panic it regarded all societies of the people as inspired by the aims of French Jacobins, and hatching-places of revolutions. Not even the Missionary Societies of London and Glasgow escaped their suspicion. It was in this

[1] See *Account of the Proceedings and Debate in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 27th May 1796*, ascribed to Robert Heron.

[2] Hugh Miller, *Church of Scotland, Missionary and Anti-Missionary*, p. 3.

mood of suspicion and dread that the Moderate party considered the overtures from the Synods of Fife and Moray. The former asked the Assembly to consider the most effectual methods by which the Church might "contribute to the diffusion of the Gospel over the world," and the latter craved the Church specifically "to aid the several societies for propagating the Gospel among the heathen nations." Hamilton of Gladsmuir moved dismissal of the overtures in a learned and polished speech, which was redolent of the refinement of cultured paganism, rather than the precepts of the Gospel. "To spread abroad," said he, "the knowledge of the Gospel among barbarous and heathen nations seems to me highly preposterous." [1] Carlyle delivered a short, characteristic speech in support. Both speakers might claim descent from Celsus and his school, and the repetitions of the retorts of Tertullian, Lactantius, Athenagoras, and Origen would have sufficed to silence them. But it was Principal Hill who specially revealed their fear and lack of confidence in a laboured attempt to identify the missionary societies with the revolutionary societies of the country. Of a different spirit was Dr. John Erskine, the leader of the Evangelicals. He did not minimise the seriousness of the times, but it was a seriousness that called for faith. With the sure confidence with which John Calvin faced the terrors of his own times in his address to King Francis I.

[1] See Heron's *Account*.

of France—" a confidence which is not appalled by the terrors of death, and therefore not even by the judgment-seat of God " [1]—Erskine with a dramatic gesture, and uttering the picturesque and memorable phrase, " Rax me that Bible," directed attention to the commission and promise of the Church's Head, but in vain. By a vote of 58 against 44 the overtures were dismissed. It has been urged in extenuation of this faithless decision [2] that at that time there was no Reformed Church in Europe, except the Moravian, whose Supreme Court or Council would have shown a minority so large in favour of official and direct immediate missionary action. That may be true, and if so, the entire honour of it lies with the Evangelicals. They have the further honour of having opened a question which the adverse finding did not close. The fear begotten by the French Revolution gradually subsided, and the evangelical view of the purpose, power, and universality of the Gospel was gaining ground. The French Revolution, indeed, with its idea of the common rights of man, even though their advocacy was not based on religion, but on Rousseau's ideals of nature, effected a change in people's estimate of non-Christian and uncivilised humanity, which lent support to the evangelical avowals that, among the common rights of man,

[1] *Institutes*, vol. i. p. 8.

[2] Professor Cowan's *The Scottish Church in Christendom*, p. 37.

there were none more urgent than that the blessings of the Gospel should be put within the reach of all men.[1] Hence it was in 1824 that Dr. Inglis, perhaps more of an evangelical Erastian than a typical Moderate, revived the question adversely voted on twenty-eight years previously, and succeeded in inducing the Church to undertake direct missionary work in India. The famous evangelical missionary, Dr. Duff, was sent out, who by his successful labours gained for himself and his Church a pre-eminent place in the history of missions in that land. From 1796 onward, Moderatism began to wane as an overwhelming force in the Assembly. In a panic this Church party was begotten, and in a panic it began to dissolve.

As to what Moderatism was as a religious and moral force in Scotland that can best be gathered from contemporary sources. Witherspoon, who was afterwards Principal of Princeton Seminary and a leading figure in American politics, has a right to speak for them. In a lifelike satire he describes them as men who, only when merry and in a good humour, "thought upon religious subjects." "When he thinks upon religion, if he thinks upon it at all, in this genial mood he befriends its enemies, such as men of loose living, particularly if their looseness takes the form of good-humoured vices." "Wickedness must be practised to be understood and combated," "and as

[1] Warneck's *History of Christian Missions*, p. 77.

a minister can't openly do this, he must allow the wicked to be bold in his presence." And as a minister cannot help to be orthodox in prayer, he will do well " to deal as little that way as possible." And their attitude to creed subscription is thus set forth: " Our subscriptions have this advantage above forms of compliment in point of honesty, that we are at a great deal of pains usually to persuade the world that we do not believe what we sign." [1] In expounding the solemn text, " Set thine house in order; for thou shalt die, and not live " (2 Kings xx. 1), Samuel Charteris proceeded: " I shall propose reasons for making a testament without delay, and then mention the things that should be attended to in making one. . . . The hearer who is more immediately concerned, and who is now resolved, can retire this evening and make his will." [2] Witherspoon credits them with having preached good works, and allowed others to practise them. A poet [3] of the people corroborates this by describing them as preaching the value of good works on the Lord's days, and crawling on the earth on week-days like filthy bats that squeal, and as being proficient in every kind of trade but their own lawful calling.

[1] Witherspoon's *Works*, vol. vi. p. 165.

[2] Mathieson, *Awakening of Scotland*, p. 206.

[3] Rob Donn's *Gaelic Poems* (1829), pp. 6, 7, 8. Cf. Struthers' *History of the Relief Church*, p. 399; *An Analysis of the Statistical Account*, p. 45.

VI

For the greater part of the eighteenth century the Evangelicals were in a weak minority in the General Assembly, but in the country they had the support of large masses of the people to whom revealed religion was real, and who craved for a less tepid expression of its contents than what passed muster with the Moderates. But weak as they often were in Assembly, their voice was never silenced, and it was mainly through their efforts that the writings of Hume and Lord Kames were brought before the purview of the Assembly, which, however, merely deplored the " infidelity " of which they were literary expressions. By their zeal, too, the writing of plays was declared outwith a minister's avocation, and the seeing of such outside the bounds of his legitimate pleasures. To their credit, too, lies the first effort, though ineffectual, on the part of the Assembly, to consider seriously the Commission of the Church's Head and the Church's relation to the Commission and to the heathen world. They consistently appealed to the Church to remedy the abuses of patronage, and they vigorously opposed heresy. They favoured Sabbath schools, upon which a majority of the Assembly frowned. They preached against intemperance and the oppressive rack-renting of the poor. They encouraged the advance of education and the distribution of religious literature. To an evangelical minister and

catechist modern Canada owes the beginning in Nova Scotia of its educational system and Presbyterian evangelicalism, which were derived from its early pioneers, men whose life and character were moulded by evangelical teaching in the North of Scotland.[1] It was an Evangelical—Rev. Lachlan Mackenzie, Lochcarron, 1754–1819—who, almost alone, with unflinching courage blenched not before the anger of his patron that stormed against him for preaching the woe of those who added acre to acre and dispossessed the poor in the process.

The Reformed system of doctrine as presented in her Calvinistic creed was adhered to, however formally, by many in the Church during the century. The creed, however, never lacked honourable subscribers who believed and preached its entire contents. It was in the congregation of one of these where, prior to 1742, the minister preached for a twelvemonth on the nature and necessity of regeneration, that the famous English Calvinist, George Whitefield, had revived a God-blessed interest, among rich and poor, in the great doctrines of Grace. At Kilsyth and in the north-eastern Highlands similar awakenings followed, and well on into the next century there were repeated awakenings of slumbering consciences.[2] Notable among these in its

[1] MS. *Forfeited Estates Papers*, Register House, Edinburgh.

[2] See Gillies' *Historical Collections*, *passim*; Couper's *Scottish Revivals*, 1918.

wide effect was that in which Simeon of Cambridge was God's instrument. All these revivals which were within the National Church were encouraged by Evangelicals, and followed in every instance a clear and emphatic enunciation of the distinctive doctrines of the Reformed System. While the effects of the revivals flowed far beyond the Church's ecclesiastical boundaries, within the Church they were a powerful factor in reforming the character of ministers and people, in enthroning Christ, and in vitalising what Ebenezer Erskine called " the carcase of worship," all which helped to mould the history of the Church. The influence of the itinerant lay-preachers, Robert and James Haldane, who in reaction from Moderatism organised Congregational and Baptist meetings in Scotland, swelled the stream of evangelicalism even if it widened the variety of dissent. In the North of Scotland dissent was strong, the religious conscience was quickened, and there was the emergence of a lively democratic spirit. The strength of Dissent reacted favourably on the National Church, for it could no longer be despised as the " little ones of a weak dissent."

In the North of Scotland since the " Forty-five," the common people, irritated by the social, economic, and ecclesiastical changes that were remorselessly forced upon them, resented patron power and rule with ever-increasing vigour. There the authority and respect due to the pulpit were being transferred to pious men who, in unorganised meetings, formed

in many parts the only witness of the evangel. In north and south, the more that patron power infringed on Christian rights and convictions, the more it accentuated the dislike for it, and stimulated the growing determination of resistance. Within the Church itself the Evangelicals were increasing in influence and power, and a few like Hill, Inglis, and Muir were Calvinistic in doctrine though anti-Calvinistic in polity, like English Churchmen in the Puritan age of the Archbishop Whitgift school. They had their following.

As a manifestation of rationalistic philosophy, Moderatism received a staggering blow from Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason.* The "Scottish Philosophy" of Reid and Stewart was an effective answer to David Hume, which, according to Goethe and Renan, made a wide appeal to European thinkers, because, according to the former, that common-sense philosophy sought the union of the real and the ideal, and according to the latter it had a consoling effect and was a pathway to Christianity.[1] The metaphysical speculation that resolved itself into universal doubt could no longer bear the badge of the highest culture, and with its fall fell the popularity of Moderatism. The forces let loose by the French Revolution, with the watchwords of equality and fraternity, were transforming ideals in all spheres of human activity, before which Moderatism, if afraid, would no longer, however, con-

[1] Cf. Hume Brown's *History*, vol. iii. p. 374.

tinue unaffected. A striking illustration of this was the appointment in Edinburgh University in 1805 of a distinguished scientist, but suspected of free-thinking, John Leslie, to the Chair of Mathematics by the Evangelistic party against an orthodox minister in the person of Dr. MacKnight, supported strenuously by the Moderate party.[1] The former, with their strong faith in the invulnerability of truth, had nothing to fear from science, while the latter were alarmed that science might rob them of the weak supports of their little faith.

Much of Scottish Evangelicalism was with dissent, but many Evangelicals, who were in entire doctrinal sympathy with those without, remained steadfast in their loyalty to the National Church, as they conceived it to be the strongest bulwark against papal power. But there was thus throughout the century a party within the Church who asserted their rights as they stood for the supreme authority of the Bible and the great evangelical doctrines of grace enshrined in the Westminster Confession of Faith, which formed their terms of contract with the State. All the forces indicated were gradually swelling the stream of influence and power of the Evangelicals. The final conflict of the opposing parties was drawing near, in which conceptions of polity, doctrine, Christian agencies, were to be in violent opposition. The controversy waged round the Confession as the contracting link with the

[1] Hume Brown's *History*, vol. iii. p. 393.

State, by which the Evangelicals urged they were bound in their solemn ordination vows to oppose any abuse by the State or patron of its ecclesiastical statements, which infringed on the crown rights of the Redeemer, and the spiritual freedom of the redeemed, expressed therein. But an unyielding State and an equally unyielding party in the Church made it necessary for the Evangelicals to buy their freedom, and they did that at a great price. The inevitable emergence of the Free Church in 1843 was an impressive display of loyalty to the Calvinistic doctrines and polity.

VII

The religious life of Scotland during the eighteenth century was various, peculiar, contradicting, and afflicted. Burns sang merrily into receptive ears the shallow optimism of Deists in "A man's a man for a' that," and if by that and similar songs he kindled enthusiasm for humanity humble and downtrodden, his attitude was that of pure naturalism condoning human depravity without presenting any political or social remedial ideals. Farther north, a didactic poet—Buchanan—quickened the mental torpor of his countrymen with startling conceptions of the magnitude, the variety, and infinite shapes and degrees of sin, the efficacy of the sacrifice of Christ, and the fruitfulness of God's free and sovereign grace, borrowing from the Bible and Nature the figures and images necessary to emphasise

his central theme—the awful demerit of sin. While MacPherson in his *Ossian* gave literary expression to the secular traditions of his race in sonorous compounds that tingled in the ears of the *literati* of Europe, Mrs. Clark, not far from his residence, was with abiding effect commending the winsomeness of her Saviour in mellifluous verse to a people on whom MacPherson's *Ossian* made no impression. Dr. Carlyle of Inveresk delighted to appear among a bevy of ladies in a conspicuous place in a theatre. But Dr. Johnstone of Leith and Newhaven had supreme joy in visiting the orphan and the widow, such as she who repeated the lines of the Psalm as she sang them alone, explaining her purpose quaintly thus : " The words, sir, are sae fine that I just like to guist (taste) my gab wi' them." Long before Burns began to warble sweetly about the brotherhood of man, Macaulay of Applecross, a forbear of the eminent historian of that name, preached eloquently on the theme from the text, " For we are also His offspring," [1] a sermon described by an eminent divine as " a more masterly piece of (not of reasoning) but of *reason* itself . . . I have rarely if ever read." [2] It was to an auditory, which Macaulay himself declared with the sting of vanity as a people who " can give no true account of the scope, tenour, and connection of a well-buckled discourse." But his neighbour, Sage of Lochcarron, an ardent Evangelical, found there was too much

[1] Acts xvii. 28. [2] MS. *Assembly Papers*, 1758.

"reason" in the sermon which taught that "there was no use or necessity of Revelation," and which "smells strongly of Sabellian and Socinian tenets." Not on such unsafe foundation but on the Lord would Sage have the brotherhood of man reared, and he therefore subscribes himself as Macaulay's brother, "and in the Lord *only*." [1] The Church had lapsed far from the bold claim of Knox before Queen Mary "of unity in doctrine." On the one hand, *virtue* was loudly extolled; and on the other, persons guilty of fornication and adultery were condoned and made church members by money payments, and the pious poor were made the beneficiaries of this nefarious traffic.

The history of the Scottish Church during the eighteenth century has points of similarity with that of Dutch Protestantism. Both are difficult to unravel, but certain features are clear. In both countries certain forces can be detected which are inimical to orthodox Calvinism. The philosophy of Descartes had its influence on theology in the one as the philosophy of Hume had in the other. The rigid Pietists or Sabbatarians who followed Voet had their counterpart in Scotland, and the allegorical interpretation and spiritualising of Scripture characteristic of the followers of Cocceius were popular features of Scottish evangelical preaching. While both in Dissent and in the State Church in Scotland federal theology had many brilliant exponents.

[1] MS. *Assembly Papers.*

A loose attachment to the creeds paved the way to indifference to distinctive dogmas, whence issued the latitudinarianism that is the feature of the low-water mark of Dutch Protestantism towards the close of the eighteenth century.[1] In Scotland at the same time, although Calvinism was enshrined in her symbolical standards, as far as many of the State Church's pulpits were concerned, Calvinism was dead. In both countries the State encroached on the spiritual domain with similar results. It was a learned layman and an original poet, Bilderdijk, who stirred the national conscience of Holland. Eminent ministers, with the help of this awakening, brought into being the Christian Reformed Church of Holland in 1834.[2] It was a layman, the brilliant ecclesiastical lawyer, Alexander Murray Dunlop, who drew up the Charter of Rights, whose refusal by the State left no alternative to Non-intrusionists in Scotland, but to organise the Free Church in 1843. Holland had Groen van Prinsterer. Scotland had Thomas Chalmers. The emergence of these Churches was a rebirth and triumph in both countries of the Reformed faith in its Calvinistic form.

VIII

The basic principles on which the post-Revolution Church was reared in Scotland were, that law, in its

[1] Pullan, *Religion since the Reformation* (1923), p. 175.

[2] Blok, *History of Netherlands*, vol. v. p. 443 *et seq.*; Edmundson, *History of Holland* (1922), p. 407.

strictly forensic sense, was the foundation of all government, and that governors must administer law judicially and not paternally. Her creed was her law, and judicial administration was a necessary corollary, to the binding obligation of definite subscription to it. This subscription was voluntarily undertaken, but involved no discretionary power in administration, and accordingly established the equal rights and liberties of all parties within the wide ambit of the accepted law. If the law was good, and a sincere subscription implied that it was, the Church was precluded, if it acted judicially, as it ought to have done, from narrowing itself down to a coterie of thinkers out of harmony with its codified beliefs. This was, however, what the prevailing party sought to do, and which the Evangelicals, on the sound principle stated, resolutely opposed. The secessions of the century were, thus, the outcome of an illegitimate and narrow policy on the part of those who, strangely enough, claimed to be the apostles of liberty and toleration. The Evangelicals, in perfect accord with the Church's creed, and believing its contents, if faithfully adhered to, eminently suited to the national need, laboured to make their Church national, and strove to retain within it those best fitted by character and conduct to meet the national requirement. The nation they conceived as consisting of people of various tastes and aspirations, but inherently a homogeneous mass standing in common need of the Gospel's

salvation and its comforts. The Church was to them, therefore, not a lifeless symbol, nor a secular organisation in subservience to the State, as an organ weaker than the body using it, but having co-ordinate jurisdiction, supreme in the spiritual sphere, but collaborating with the State, and needing the State's help for national righteousness and true advancement. There should be no room in such a Church for an exclusive professional priesthood: it was a Church for the whole priesthood of believers, where the rights of all Christians were deemed of equal value, and nobody had a right to thwart the Christian conscience of the other. They strove for that form of spiritual independence, which, to them, had any reality, namely, such as can exist in a Church independent of the State, with which it is in legal relation. These high principles were the motive-power in the life of the Evangelicals throughout the century. In their strivings they failed, and the sad spectacle of broken Presbyterianism in Scotland to-day is the legacy of their opponents, who made that failure inevitable.

LECTURE IV

SCOTTISH RELIGIOUS LIFE

(NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER)

LECTURE IV

SCOTTISH RELIGIOUS LIFE

I

In any fair attempt to give a discriminating view of the present religious life of Scotland, it is necessary to glance at the background and compare and contrast circumstances, conditions, and results in the past, as far as they are ascertainable, with similar data in the present.

Generally speaking, it may be said that in the eighteenth century the pulse of religious life was weak, and the tone of morality was low. The Copernican theory popularly demonstrated by Newton in his *Principia* was a serious challenge to orthodox belief, which filled even religious minds with an alarm for the "Ark" of God. Not till the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859 was there any such alarm and even panic in the Church of Christ in Scotland. Rationalistic thought interpreting the physical universe in strict terms of mechanical cause and effect dominated all spheres of mental activity. The Church and the nation did not escape from the effect of this on their religion and morality. Vice, profanity, blasphemy, and

grossness of every kind stalked abroad unabashed. The names of convivial clubs [1] of Edinburgh and Glasgow, "Sulphur Club," "Hellfire Club," "Whir Club," and the blasphemous title, "Club of the Twelve Apostles," are suggestive. The stark nudity of mixed dancers, the obscenity and ribaldry of song, and the general flouting of religious sentiment that characterised these scenes of debauch would have horrified even the prurient of the present not too fastidious generation. Even the most cultured were in the ranks of the coarse and scurrilous, and ministers of religion found delight in the rehearsal of untranslatable obscenity. The market-places were not merely the scenes of hard bargaining, but of heavy drinking and much blood-spilling. Much of what is termed witchcraft was unbridled licence and violence on the part of some depraved women; and during the Napoleonic wars the streets of the great cities presented womanhood shamelessly defiant of any sense of morality.[2] Yet the Church survived the unbelief, religious formality, and moral laxity of that century.

The nineteenth century had its own difficulties and problems, but, in the main, Church life and national life reflected a much higher tone of morality and more intense spiritual fervour. From the

[1] Grey Graham, *The Social Life of Scotland* (1901), pp. 93, 142.

[2] *The Historical Register*, 1792; Maclean, *The Effect of the 1745 Rising on the Social and Economic Condition of the Highlands*, p. 6.

preceding century it inherited some of the causes of present-day "slum" problems in large cities. For with Scotland's imposing contribution to the world stock of ideas in the previous century, there was a great advance in industry, and the spirit of greedy commercialism was let loose. This operated unfavourably in two directions. It depopulated the land for extensive and lucrative sheep-farming, and created the need of cheap labour in the great centres of industry. The effects have produced the double problem of how to maintain the country population, the source of national piety, and the reservoir for renewing a city's vitality, and how to penetrate the segregated masses of the industrials of the cities with the elements of religion and the comforts of a Christian civilisation. The amassing of wealth that followed these economic and industrial enterprises, and the comfort and luxury that accompanied them, tended to weaken the tension between the claims of religion and the glittering allurements of the world. In the scientific world the theory of Darwin profoundly affected theological thinking with resultant doctrinal accommodations that lessened the authority of the Word of God as a rule of faith and conduct. In literature, Scott and Stevenson made the sphere of fantasy delectable, and the realities of religion were giving way before illusive fancies. Soaring intellectualism and maudlin sentimentalism, neither of which is a handmaid of true religion, nor the mother of real devotion,

were winning the attention of a people to whom widespread and compulsory education seemed to make these count as badges of a coveted culture. Yet the Church of Christ in Scotland was truly alive, and its enterprises at home and abroad were indeed dazzling in their brilliant success. A marked feature at home was its experience of repeated revivals. All of these were not on the same plane of clear doctrinal teaching, but in each of them the great doctrines of grace were the themes of appeal to heart and conscience, and the moral and spiritual life of Scotland was immeasurably strengthened by them. The waves of these revivals, like the waves of the spring-tide that bring life to the tiniest shell-fish in the remotest crevice, lapped the most distant shores, and revived the spiritual life of the isolated and the lonely as well as of the multitudes in the greater surge. The last tide of the spirit has ebbed far out. To-day, Scotland is at low-water mark spiritually, for the tide never turns till it reaches that mark, and we are confidently assured that we are now at the " turn of the tide." [1]

II

The receding tide in many of the sea-lochs of Scotland uncovers a repulsive ugliness. Frowning rocks, with jagged ledges and dangerous projections, or matted with tangled masses of weeds covering in their folds decay and death, become visible. The

[1] Dr. Morrison's *The Turn of the Tide*, 1926.

accumulated silt forms lagoons with putrid remains of terrible conflicts and tragedies. The blenched wrack left by the tide upon the exposed beach is dry, hard, and lifeless. These things have always been there ; the ebbing sea has merely uncovered them. Human nature undergoes no natural change, and the withdrawal of the restraining influences of fervent religion only brings to light the effects of the conflict of elemental human passions. Complicated problems, with wild forces generated by suffering and oppression, and the sordid existence in the backwaters of city life, give cause of anxiety to the serious-minded. The survivals of former revivals, and the ordinary Christian, the fruit of the regular evangelical ministry, bemoan their dry and sapless lives, and are longing wistfully for the flushing of their lives with waves from the ocean of eternal love. So there are many who sing the joyless song of the pessimist, Swinburne :

> " As waves after ebb flowing seaward,
> When their hollows are full of the night,
> So the birds that came singing to me-ward
> Recede out of sight."

This is not an exaggerated picture of Scotland to-day.

This will become clear on closer consideration of how far grosser evils have invaded the principal spheres of human life, and how their disintegrating influences are a threat to the moral and social well-being of the nation.

Let us consider, first, the family which in an ideal state should be the Kingdom of God in miniature. Burns in his immortal poem, "The Cotter's Saturday Night," which has been described as "the noblest poem genius ever dedicated to domestic devotion," drew his picture from life in his father's house. The sanctity and sacred worth of the Scottish home, where God was acknowledged at the family altar, the father was the priest and prophet, and love, devotion, and harmony pervaded the humblest dwellers, could not be honoured in sublimer imagery and expression. But such a home was an exception rather than the rule in Burns's time. At the revivals of the early part of the nineteenth century and well past the middle of the century, however, there were few cottages in Scotland to which the poem was not applicable. Up and down the land there were multitudes of homes of which the words of the deft penman of Israel were true: "The voice of rejoicing and salvation is in the tabernacles of the righteous." [1] There are few countries where the home contributed so much to the formation of character as in Scotland. It is, therefore, all the more alarming that this sacred institution with its gracious influences is now under eclipse. "We see," writes the distinguished theologian, Professor W. P. Paterson, "clustering around the family and penetrating into it, a company of sinister forces which recall the savage's conception of the host of evil spirits

[1] Psalm cxviii. 15.

that hover about his kraal, and strive to enter by door or chink as angels of disease and death."[1] They have already entered, and threaten to lay in ruins this old Scottish nursery of piety and haven of happiness. Potent, as destructive of the home, is intemperance, which strikes at the moral and physical life and converts the fruit of labour, which should be a blessing, into a curse. But there is clear evidence that the drinking customs of the Scottish people are surely, though slowly, changing for the better. In 1913–14 the consumption of spirits in Scotland amounted to 6,850,419 gallons, while in 1924–25 the amount had fallen to 2,843,361 gallons. Against this has to be placed the fact that the drink bill has doubled during the same period, reaching last year the enormous total of £30,000,000.[2] This increase is accounted for by the greatly increased tax on spirits, but it discloses the uncomfortable fact that the Scottish people are still prepared to spend their hard-earned incomes lavishly on ardent spirits. The ravaging effects of intemperance on the family life are admitted by all the Churches, but the Churches are far from being unanimous in their views as to how this evil can be removed. Legislation, defective in some respects, has placed the power of vetoing licences into the hands of the people with results that have been

[1] Professor Paterson's *Social Evils and Problems* (1918), p. 8.

[2] *U.F. Reports* (1926), vol. ix. pp. 4, 5.

disappointing to zealous temperance Reformers; and until the Churches have stirred the conscience of the community with persuasive teaching the results are not likely to alter. Laws can improve the environment, but an improved environment does not change a habit. A change of heart can alone effect a change in conduct. But serious as this problem is, no observer of city life in particular can escape the conviction that sobriety among the people is steadily gaining ground.

Associated with intemperance is impurity. As before the Reformation, so to-day this vice is evidence of a low spiritual and moral life. No one who is loyal to the "Faith" can "view the prevalence of impurity in Scotland without a sore heart and profound anxiety. The naked facts are as repellent as they are pathetic."[1] And what is alarming is, that in the Great War, when the civil population was in arms, the evil was found to have permeated all classes of the community. The people have lost in great measure the sense of the sacredness of life, and neo-Malthusianism has spread its withering blight, and through foul disease, the deliberate restriction of births, and the murder of the unborn, Scotland is marching in the eyes of many on the way that leads to racial suicide.[2]

Gambling, which is described by Lord Sands as a craving that may "become a consuming fire, stronger than love or hate, ambition or pride, or

[1] *Social Evils and Problems*, p. 65. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 102.

even than thirst or lust," [1] has invaded multitudes of homes with devastating results. There has also been a wide departure from the seriousness and simplicity of former generations. The love of pleasure among almost all classes is difficult to distinguish from pagan hedonism. There is a decay of parental control and a lack of reverence for lawful authority. These, indeed, are sure proofs of the disintegration that is at work in the home, and which is growing in extent and intensity. Allowance has to be made for the exuberant vitality of youth and the spirit of independence. But piercing this gloom, however, is a streak of light visible in a longing for reality, in a craving for certainty, and in an inquisitive interest in life and the hereafter, which the Church is but feebly answering, and is therefore not wholly free of responsibility for the peril which confronts it.

III

Social life, which is growing in complexity, is surrounded by many and difficult moral problems and grave evils. "The situation," according to one authority, "is filling many with dismay." "We behold class-war, which is the negation of goodwill and brotherhood; sectionalism, which is the negation of all spiritual values. Everywhere materialistic ideals seem to hold sway. Unrest, suspicion, distrust, and violence are thwarting all sane effects

[1] *Social Evils and Problems*, p. 121.

to reconstruction." [1] Of Scottish Socialism, which this gloomy picture appears to represent, it is scarcely true to say that its ideals are wholly materialistic, and it is this very fact that makes it a challenging force to the Church. In its later development, Scottish Socialism claims to be essentially religious. It is, like early Monasticism, a revolt from existing conditions of civilisation, an effort after a deliverance from acknowledged evils ; but instead of retreating from the Church to the wilderness for freedom, Socialism faces the evils on the platform, and there tries to rediscover the elements of Christianity, which are alleged to have been lost in centuries of misapplied Christianity, and to apply them directly to the overthrow of evil. Most of the leaders of Socialism in Scotland are professing Christians, and some of them are highly honoured Christian workers. It is questionable whether even in its communistic form its followers would seek to overthrow religion in the revolution at which it aims. But in all its forms, Socialism is suspicious and critical of the Church as failing to apply the Christianity for which the Church stands. An earnest and well-informed Socialist—typical of many in the movement—puts their views in this form : " I find it hard to resist saying—I say it in all kindness and with abiding affection for the Christian Church, which was my own early spiritual home—that if the Church had

[1] Watson, *The Church at Work* (1926), pp. 9, 10.

been less concerned with connecting goodness with itself and its own teaching, and more concerned for the actuality of goodness in the world, the world would to-day have been a far better place to live in." [1] In facing this seeming charge of failure in its application of Christianity, the Protestant Church in particular has to meet prejudices that have been fomented by a misreading of history. Romanists have been sedulously idealising the lot of the common people under the mediæval Church, and impugning the Reformation as responsible for the evils of modern industrialism. But Dr. G. G. Coulton [2] and Mr. R. H. Tawney [3] have exposed the hollowness of such pretensions. Calvinism undoubtedly laid emphasis on character, and gave sanction to the conquest of a challenging environment by thrift, discipline, and work, and so made the honest acquisition of wealth an honourable aim in life. But in the process, Calvinism repudiates all forms of class hatred and oppression and the acquisition of wealth as an end. Suffice it merely to quote Mr. Tawney as our answer to the charge, which is brought against the Reformation, of having originated modern industrialism with its evils. " The Capitalist spirit is as old as history, and was not, as has been sometimes said, the offspring of Puritanism." Again : " The social

[1] M'Arthur, *Religion and Socialism*, p. 5.
[2] Coulton, *A Mediæval Village*.
[3] Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, 1926.

reactions of Puritanism, trenchant, permanent, and profound, are not to be summarised in the simple formula that it fostered individualism." Weber maintained that Calvinism in England was the parent of Capitalism, and Troeltsch appears to endorse his view. But to say that the development of Capitalism in England and Holland was due solely to Protestantism is as one-sided as to say that the religious changes in both countries were due to economic causes. So says Mr. Tawney.[1] To meet another charge, and one not wholly unfounded, namely, that the Church in the eighteenth century and later showed a leaning towards the exaltation of aristocracy, one can at least point to Dr. Chalmers's great social experiment in Glasgow for the extinction of pauperism which ultimately gave to Germany her famous Elberfeld system of poor relief. But prejudice is not easily eradicated, and the masses therefore still seek emancipation in their religion of politics. And political platforms have thus become a serious rival, daily increasing in influence and power, to the pulpit; and the Church, in an effort to recapture the confidence of the people, is showing signs of panic, in being less insistent with the command to seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness, than with a social gospel that lays stress on first securing all the things that shall be added.

[1] Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, pp. 226, 212.

IV

If the vitality of a nation's religion is reflected in its careful observance of the Lord's Day, then Scotland of to-day can give but meagre evidence of vitality. In Scotland as in Holland, Calvinism and Sabbath observance went together, and the decline of the latter in Scotland, with the modern subservience of spiritual needs to physical pleasures and the rising popularity of the political meeting, the old Scottish Sabbath is disappearing fast. And here, too, the Church is oscillating between two opinions, and to all appearance the need of the soul for spiritual nutriment is to be subordinated to the physical need of recreation. More sinister still is the tendency to emphasise the importance of morning Church services with a suggestion of meritorious and legalistic righteousness attached. Another factor that contributes to the gradual decay of old Scottish reverence for the Lord's Day is the influx of Roman Catholic immigrants from Ireland to the industrial centres of Scotland. In illustration of this critical situation that has arisen, we find that between 1881 and 1901 the Irish population in Scotland increased by 32½ per cent., while in the same period the Scottish population increased only by 18 per cent., and between 1901 and 1921 the Irish population increased by 39 per cent., while the Scottish population increased by 6 per cent. This Irish population is "three times as productive of crime as the rest

of the population." "They are a heavy financial burden on parochial, municipal, and philanthropic funds." [1] In Glasgow, where they number about 25 per cent. of the population, it is estimated that they account for about 70 per cent. of the relief funds disbursed. They differ in beliefs, ideals, traditions, and characteristics from the Scottish people, and it seems impossible to assimilate them into the life of the Scottish nation. They are thus seriously affecting Scottish nationality and Scottish ideals, and they are a growing menace to the Reformed Faith.[2]

Scottish education, which contributed so much in the past to the formation of Scottish character, is now, in the main, directed in channels and towards the end of fitting young men and women for prosperous careers rather than for citizenship in its wider and nobler meaning. The Churches are viewing with great misgivings the results of the working of the Education Act of 1918, in many directions, and they are endeavouring to have the Act amended so as to secure that religious instruction be given in every school. At present, religious instruction is given in all schools of all grades, other than Episcopal and Roman Catholic schools, from the Bible and the Shorter Catechism. In the training centres for teachers, who all pass through the Universities or normal Colleges, there are

[1] *U.F. Reports*, vol. v. p. 14.
[2] *C. of S. Reports*, p. 622.

Directors of Religious Education. These Directors are responsible for the religious instruction of some 2700 students annually, the future teachers of the youth of Scotland. The serious feature of this religious instruction, from the point of view of those who are interested in historical evangelism, is that the knowledge "of the contents and background of the Scriptures imparted is from the modern point of view."[1] Illustrative of this method is the elimination from the Shorter Catechism, in the working Syllabus in Schools, of what was most definitely characteristic of Calvinism, such as the decrees, the relation of mankind to the first Adam, the sin and misery which the Fall entailed upon the human race, the Covenant of Redemption and its Mediator with the constitution of His person and His incarnation. Proposals are being considered by Calvinists in the Churches to have their sons and daughters, many of whom enter the teaching profession, taught in Scripture knowledge in a manner less offensive to their consciences.

The condition of religious education is further embarrassed by the claim that there are more free-thinkers among teachers than among any other class. But they, strange to say, are not at all antagonistic to the Church, which they regard as effete, and are prepared to teach religion when it is evacuated of almost all Christian doctrine, and when the Shorter Catechism, "the lugubrious pro-

[1] *U.F. Reports*, vol. xvii. p. 8.

duction of a morose, Calvinistic age," is thrown to the limbo of forgotten things. They wish, therefore, the Church "to restate the principles of Christianity in a manner acceptable to the mentality of the age."[1] Then Scotland would be recovered for Christianity! But this brave and proud, but apparently quite sincere challenge, might be worthy of some consideration were the Christian Church a mere association for the cultivation of religion, and were it not that "modernists" in Holland, for example, proceeded on their destructive course with similar high hopes—hopes, however, which were speedily disappointed. The destructive work gave an excuse to lack of seriousness. People who chafed under the moral restraints of orthodoxy were, and still are, glad to call themselves "modern," and to discard with orthodoxy all religion. This form of "modernism" has been already tried as a basis for fostering piety and as a reviving force in the religious life of a people, and it has lamentably failed.[2] And in such facts the anxious and serious-minded people in Scotland find confirmation for their conviction that the admittedly weak state of religious life among them is due not to the "curse" of orthodoxy, "an affront to human reason," but to the blighting influence of that destructive modernism described by one, who would be wrongly

[1] *The Scots Observer*, 15th January 1927, p. 18.

[2] Cf. Vanderlaan, *Protestant Modernism in Holland* (1924), p. 86.

labelled as a narrow theologian, as follows: "The authority of God's Word has of late suffered, to the detriment of Scottish piety. Criticism has unsettled the faith of many; and the Bible is not regarded as it used to be, and as speaking with divine authority in every page and on every topic." [1] So far an effort has been made to give an unbiased presentation of the religious life of Scotland as that is reflected by society in general. Now we shall look at the religious life of the Christian Church itself.

V

Never since the first heralds of the Cross brought their message of hope to the Scottish shore was Scottish Christianity organised as it is to-day. But in Scotland, as elsewhere, organised Christianity is widely and sharply divided. But all the Churches, despite their divisions, with the exception of the Roman Catholics, do co-operate harmoniously in common enterprises for the nation's well-being where disloyalty to distinctive testimonies is not involved. Like as in the early history of Scotland, Picts and Scots, who vigorously opposed one another, combined against the invader in their common territory, so the differing Churches to-day often present a united front against a national peril, and individually make their contribution to the common stock of Scottish Christianity. Scottish Christianity, as expressed in Churches, since the Reformation at

[1] *Social Evils*, p. 156.

least, has never suffered from the dreariness of a dismal monotony, and in this respect to-day is as yesterday. Over 80 per cent. of the Scottish people are, nominally at least, Presbyterian. There are other Christian Churches in Scotland outside the Presbyterian family, but mainly exotic, which are doing active Christian work in the land, but here only the activities and religious life of the Presbyterian family will be noticed. Much and seriously as the different members of this family differ in doctrine and mode of worship they are all alike in polity. This polity is thoroughly democratic, with equality of religious rights and privileges. Every congregation has its minister, chosen by the members, a kirk-session whose function is spiritual, and deacons or managers who have oversight of the material interests of the congregation. The members of these courts are elected by the congregation, and continue in office until they resign, or are removed by disciplinary process or by death. Every congregation is thus a complete and independent unit to whose spiritual interest the combined services of minister and office-bearers are applied. All the congregations are linked together through Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assembly, the last, the Supreme Court, which is representative and not constituent, giving visible expression to the unity of the whole. There are six different Presbyterian Churches in Scotland to-day.

The oldest of the dissenting Presbyterian Churches

in Scotland is the Reformed Presbyterian Church. It stood out of the National Church in 1689, and remains to the present day a living representative of the Covenanters, making the binding obligations of the Covenants part of its testimony, and dissenting from recognising national establishment of religion by declining to exercise the political franchise. The United Original Secession Church represents the Erskine Secession, and holds the obligations of the Covenants in its testimony, but it allows its members to exercise their political rights in Parliamentary elections. The difference between these two is mainly a politico-ecclesiastical one. Towards the end of last century the majority in the Free Church Assembly, asserting that there were "repellent" features in Calvinism of the Westminster Confession, "learned something from the Arminians,"[1] and passed a Declaratory Act which showed this. The Free Presbyterian Church came into being in 1893 as a protest against this legislation. In 1900 the overwhelming majority of the Free Church of Scotland united with the whole body of the United Presbyterian Church, which was itself a body formed by the union in 1847 of the greater portion of the two principal secessions of the eighteenth century. The union of 1900 was effected on a doctrinal basis which substituted "the doctrine of this Church" for "the whole doctrine contained in the *Confession of Faith*," as being the belief which

[1] *Letters of Principal James Denney*, p. 106.

ordinands were asked to avow. This was regarded by a minority of the Church as an abandonment of the Confession which enshrined definitely and clearly the Calvinistic or Reformed system of Faith for a "doctrine" indefinite and indefinable from which any finality was entirely absent. This small minority, which adhered to the full Confession unabated and unmodified, refused to enter into this union. Their action involved them in a protracted lawsuit for their civil rights which their former brethren in the United Church denied them. The decision of the final court of appeal in the British realm in August 1904 recognised their civil rights and adjudicated them the rightful representatives of the Free Church of 1843. That minority, greatly increased in numbers, forms the Free Church of Scotland of to-day.

These four Churches, which, even when combined in a group, form only a small, but not insignificant, minority of Scottish Presbyterians, hold tenaciously by the Calvinistic system of doctrine ; they use no material in praise but the Psalms, and eschew any form of instrumental aid in the melody of the sanctuary. They show great activity in foreign mission work, and some of them have commitments abroad relatively larger than those of the larger Churches. They maintain a high standard of equipment as requisite for the ministry, and each of them trains its own ministers. Their pulpit ministrations, with the warm glow of traditional Scottish Evangeli-

calism, are in harmony with their belief in an infallible Bible.

The experience of the Free Church, and it is typical of the other Churches in the same group, is that evangelical Christianity still produces true piety, builds character, and strongly appeals to the educated youth. Taking churchgoing and family religion as a touchstone of living religion, the attendances at public worship in urban and rural areas show no diminution, except where affected by rural depopulation, and in spite of the rush of modern life, "the flame of devotion still burns brightly on many a household altar." [1] It is still true, also, that no character is nobler and can resist the test of fire better than that produced by the active operation of the Spirit of God, and by the response to the general call of the Gospel. At the deadliest hour in the Great War, when the moral and physical strength of Scottish naval men was put to a test of indescribable severity, a highly placed naval officer gave the unsolicited testimony that husbands and sons of the storm-swept Isles of Scotland, reared in the alleged gloom and severity of Calvinistic preaching, formed the rallying centres of staggered crews by the example of their physical endurance and the influence of their moral character and devotion to duty.

To say that the educated youth of Scotland are in revolt from the teaching of the great doctrines of

[1] *F.C. Proceedings* (1926), p. 394.

grace, as being repugnant to the reasoning power of the youth who pass through the philosophical and scientific disciplines of the schools and universities, is not supported by the experience of the Free Church. The youth of all Presbyterian Churches pass through the same university disciplines preparatory to their divinity course. And here it should be remarked that the teaching in all the faculties in the universities of Scotland to-day is free of the " Dogmatic Atheism " of the eighteenth century, and is nowhere openly hostile to Christianity. But whatever effect university education has on the youthful mind aspiring to the ministry, it should be similar in like conditions. As God is impartial in His distribution of His gifts, every year some of the best product educationally of these universities passes into the Divinity Hall of the Free Church, and it is a striking fact that during the last twenty-six years only one student felt constrained to leave the college and Church on the ground of intellectual difficulties. Several left the Church during that time for more utilitarian and less honourable reasons. Furthermore, the Free Church has no reason to fear that the reservoir of her ministry shall fail her, for students are coming forward in increasing numbers, and to-day there are relatively many more aspirants to the ministry of the Free Church than is the case in the large Churches.

VI

The Churches described are all dissenting Churches in the sense that none of them receives the support of State endowments, and they are all therefore wholly dependent on the voluntary givings of their people and interests derived from capitalised givings. But the great dissenting Church in Scotland is the United Free Church. Last year its congregations numbered 1455, stations 34, and congregation's missions 10—in all, 1499 preaching centres. Its regular ministers numbered 1491, to which should be added 167 retired ministers and ordained preachers, making a total of 1658 available preachers. The number of its elders stands at 18,756, 19,826 managers and deacons, making a total of 38,582 of elected lay-office-bearers directly chargeable with the spiritual and temporal interests of the people. There are 260,247 attending Sabbath schools and Bible classes, and 133,926 other societies or organisations connected with the Church, though in effect the former may include the latter figures. The number of communicants stands at 536,407. For the maintenance of existing work at home and abroad, the Church contributed, in 1925, £440,760, but for the extension of work and liquidation of debt the sum of £527,849 is required. Its Christian liberality for all purposes reached in the year 1925 the huge total of £1,560,924. It has raised a special Thanksgiving Fund which has

reached £100,000, and its invested capital amounts to £1,689,156. The minimum stipend of its ministers is £300 a year.[1] The activities of the Church at home and abroad are multifarious and impressive, and its whole work is organised to a point of efficiency which cannot easily be excelled. It has more of the middle class or wealth-owning class within its communion than any other Church in Scotland, and, as a rule, they are liberal givers.

The Church of Scotland, or Established Church, was greatly weakened by the Disruption of 1843. It is computed that of the 1200 ministers in the establishment at that time, about 500 joined the Free Church, and of the 1233 parishes in the Church, only about 771 remained attached, 462 becoming identified with the new movement.[2] But these figures hardly convey the full extent of the Disruption, for many ministers remained ministering to attenuated congregations, and there were few congregations that remained intact. But the Church of Scotland showed such wonderful resiliency and recuperative power, that by 1869 it claimed to have more communicants than the rival Churches put together. Various causes have been given for this recovery. Chief among them was the favourable reaction of revived Calvinism on the ministers that remained in the Church, and among these there were many who always regarded them-

[1] *U.F. Reports, passim.*

[2] Cf. Raleigh's *Annals of the C. in S.* (1921), p. 319

selves as evangelical Erastians. The Gospel was preached with a warm glow and with a note of serious earnestness; unknown to Moderatism. There was, on the other hand, though not uniformly, a less rigorous discipline enforced which made access to the Church more easy. The rise of the voluntary agitation for disestablishment, assuming a strong political colouring, alienated from the dissenting Churches many whose different political opinions and views of the establishment as a bulwark for Protestantism, and others who still believed in national recognition of religion even when they could not share in the State's material acknowledgment of religion. The dignity and glamour associated with a national Church, with all the social influences and privileges attached, worked in its favour. And not the least important factor was that by its enjoyment of national endowment it had to appeal less frequently and with less insistence to the people's purse, and this made the Church attractive to those to whom Christian giving is not a distinctive feature of their Christianity. All these causes, and others combined, helped the Church of Scotland not only to recover lost ground, but to extend its influence, until to-day it claims to have 762,774 communicants and 14,586 elders, 258,444 in attendance at Sunday school and Bible classes, and 1714 places of worship, with an annual total givings for all purposes of £771,361.[1] Numeri-

[1] *C. of S. Reports.*

cally, according to its published statistics, it is probably stronger than all other Presbyterian Churches combined. But its spiritual and moral effect on the Scottish people is not equivalent to its statistical superiority. These two Churches are an imposing witness to the organising genius of good and earnest men, and have become such a finished piece of mechanism that they are alleged to lack flexibility and capacity of development. One thing is true, at least, concerning them, and that is that if the Kingdom of God can be taken by human force, thoroughly equipped and efficient, Scotland should not be the land it is to-day. In one important particular, both Churches fail. Neither Church is able to attract to its ministry its own youth so that the number of students in training is "notoriously inadequate" to supply the existing need, and the United Free Church is "viewing with deep anxiety the situation which has arisen."[1] To show the constantly decreasing numbers at the Halls and Colleges of these Churches, we find that while there were, in 1910, 111 regular students in training in Divinity in the Church of Scotland, in 1926 there were only 61, and while the United Free Church had, in 1910, 160 regular students in attendance at its colleges, in 1926 there were only 82. Various reasons have been given for this falling off in the number of candidates for the ministry, and the one most frequently advanced is the inadequacy of the

[1] *U.F. Reports.*

stipend offered to ministers. This is unconvincing in view of the fact that the smaller Churches with even a lower minimum stipend draw their youth into their ministry in ever-increasing numbers. The cause must be sought elsewhere.

The two large Churches may be said to be Calvinistic in as much as both have the Confession of Faith as a symbol of their continuity, but in neither is it a standard of belief. In the Church of Scotland the formula of subscription pledges the ordained to allegiance only to "the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith contained in the Confession of Faith." Dr. William Mair, the distinguished ecclesiastical lawyer of the Church of Scotland, interpreted this as meaning "to believe no more than the fundamental doctrines of the Christian Faith, if these are in the Confession, and we need take no account of any amplification or explanation of these given by the Confession." [1] In the United Free Church the formula pledges allegiance to the "doctrines of this Church set forth in the Confession of Faith." The two are identical in effect, and are analogous to the "spirit and substance" of the standards known in Holland.

VII

With such a flux of doctrine it need not be surprising that the interpretations of Christianity that flow from the pulpits and find their way to

[1] *The Scottish Churches*, 1914.

the public through the printing press are of a bewildering variety. Ardour, devoutness, brilliance, hesitancy, ambiguity, and a soothing indefiniteness are features. Evangelicals, and they are yet the largest number in both Churches, lay stress on the great doctrines of grace. The High Churchmen, who have little real sympathy with the evangelicalism of Calvinism, emphasise the sacraments and love ritual. The Broad Churchmen, who have even less sympathy with historical Calvinism, preach mostly a social and ethical gospel. Indeed, the distinguishing mark of most of their published sermons is the emphasis laid on the moral and ethical teaching of Jesus, and the general neglect of the doctrines of Christ. The division of parties given is convenient. These divisions are clear, even though they overlap, in the Church of Scotland, and in the United Free Church they are, at least, discernible. Of the three, the Broad Churchmen of various grades, particularly among the younger ministers, appear to be making most headway. And unless a genuine revival of religion takes place, the moulding of the future Christian life of Scotland lies with them. An indication of their beliefs with their unsettling influence is not out of place here. The theology of some of them at least is the fruit of a proud and unbalanced intellectualism which aims at prejudicing positive doctrinal teaching by labelling it as the ignorant dogmatism of the vulgar and unintelligent. It has its roots in Deism,

and is a recrudescence of the eighteenth-century Moderatism. There is apparent an aversion to the supernatural in religion which in some amounts almost to an obsession.[1] This spirit, following scientific realism, seeks to find all truth by methods of observation and experiment. They find an absolute, unbroken continuity of all phenomena in one system of cause and effect. Hence the emphasis is laid upon Jesus the Man, rather than the Incarnate Son of God, as the latter involves belief in the supernatural by procreation. This Jesus is good ; He has realised what God is, but He is not God. He is the genius and ideal leader of men. He founded a kingdom here. Entrance into it comes with a vision of His triumphant love, the love of God, on the Cross. It is an earthly kingdom, the true meaning of which was lost to evangelical Christianity down the ages. It is but a social brotherhood. Between it and the world there is but little difference. The same spiritual laws operate in both, if at different levels. The secular and sacred are a meaningless antithesis. The drama of the artist and the tragedy of the Cross, the vision of the poet and the profound thoughts of Paul, are all manifestation of the one revelation. The accuracy of the Bible narratives is denied, its authority is impugned. Such is the march of this glorified naturalism, suffused with a religious glow, sounding softly sometimes, and at other times with the thud

[1] Principal Garvie, *Christian Apologetics* (1923), p. 135.

of the "flat foot." But anxious souls like the Moderator of the Church of Scotland are calling a halt. "He thought he saw in the growing secularity of the methods of many of the Churches, and certainly in the widespread secularising of many Church organisations, evidence of a low spiritual life. The congregations which resorted to whist drives and dances and such devices hoped to hold the young people, but as converting agencies their power was nil. If they went on on these lines, they would cease to have any witness for Christianity, and they might as well go out of the Christian business, because they had ceased to wield the power divine in the Christian propaganda. They had taken all these secular attractions and deceived themselves by pseudo-success." [1]

These Churches have, unwittingly perhaps, created for themselves problems which they cannot solve singly. With the decline of doctrinal teaching in the pulpit came a lower standard of theological and Biblical intelligence in the pew. Serious and continuous introspection which produced a steady and well-indoctrinated piety became unpopular. It was superseded by a more buoyant but nerveless, because less informed, piety, the sudden product of assurance of faith drawn from single texts of Scripture. Biblical criticism destroyed the foundation of this assurance, and the ebb of enthusiasm that followed resulted in a spiritual stagnation.

[1] *Scotsman*, 20th January 1927.

The Christian conscience became less sensitive and less responsive to the spiritual appeal. A multiplicity of agencies was devised to stir the stagnant pool. The methods adopted were borrowed from the programme of the rival agencies of the world. These agencies involved, in poor centres in the cities, an unbearable strain on the ministry and on the finances of weak congregations. And the general result of all these activities has been barren of spiritual benefits. The whole situation presenting a magnificently organised Church is perplexing and disappointing. Dr. Morrison, whose authority no man can question, explains this by saying that, although the lustre of a perfected organisation is visible, "that lustre is not lighted up," [1] which in plain language means the absence of spiritual vitality, the Church being spiritually dead. This sad but courageous confession gives striking confirmation to a warning and forecast of the future uttered by Dr. Thomas M'Crie as far back as 1820: "A vague and indefinite evangelicism," said Dr. M'Crie,[2] "mixed with seriousness into which it is the prevailing disposition of the present age to resolve all Christianity, will, in the natural process of human sentiment, degenerate into an unsubstantial and incoherent pietism, which after effervescing in enthusiasm will finally settle into indifference; in which case, the spirit of infidelity

[1] *The Turn of the Tide*, p. 1.
[2] *Works*, vol. iv. p. 173.

and irreligion, which is at present working and spreading to a more alarming extent than many may seem to imagine, will achieve an easy conquest over a feeble and exhausted and nerveless adversary."

VIII

In view of the constantly decreasing number of their divinity students, and to use their man powers more effectively, as well as to relieve the financial strain, and in order to apply their financial resources for better effect in untouched urban and rural areas, these two Churches have been for some years in negotiations for such an incorporating union as would end needless rivalries and useless waste in men and money. It has been pointed out that both Churches are in identical relationship to the Confession, which is one of free and unfettered interpretation. In form of worship, government, and discipline they are similar. The matter of real difference between them hung on the relationship of the Church of Scotland with the State. The United Free Church regarded that relationship as fettering the spiritual liberty of the Church. The Church of Scotland, itself dominated by the advanced theological thought of the time, smarted under the yoke of a formula of subscription which many of its ministers could not honestly obey, but which they could not alter without the consent of the State. To appeal to the State for the liberty to change the Formula before 1900, would be courting

disaster, for the response of the State, under a Liberal Government, one of whose planks was the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of Scotland, would have been the complete severance of the Church from the State, and what was worse in the eyes of many in the Church, from national endowments. The opportune hour had arrived, however, when Parliament intervened after the famous decision in the case between the Free Church and the United Free Church, and passed "an Act in 1905 to provide for the settlement of certain Questions between the Free Church and the United Free Church in Scotland." Ecclesiastics of the Church of Scotland succeeded in inducing the politicians and statesmen to insert a clause in this Act "to make certain amendments of the law with respect to the Church of Scotland." This intervention of the Church of Scotland in a business that did not concern them is regarded as "one of the meanest things in the history of their Church or Country."[1] They secured their end, and that was deemed more important then than Christian propriety. In 1909 the Formula was changed and brought into line with that of the United Free Church in the manner already indicated. In 1921 the Church of Scotland approached Parliament to sanction a new constitution for the Church entitled "Articles Declaratory of the Constitution of the Church of Scotland." Parliament sanctioned these.

[1] *Princeton Theol. Review*, April 1926, p. 198.

This new Constitution consists of nine Articles,[1] the first of which is perhaps of greatest importance and significance. By this Article the Church binds itself only to be Trinitarian and Protestant, with wide liberty of interpretation of the meaning and implications of these terms. Parliament has by this Act of 1921 completely vindicated the emergence of the Free Church in 1843 on the question of spiritual independence in the ecclesiastical sense, which was the only question involved in 1843. But Parliament in 1921 exceeded all that was asked in 1843 by conferring on the Church the power of unlimited change in doctrinal matters—a power which was not asked in 1843, and which the Disruption Fathers, who had no complaint to make of the doctrinal contents of the Confession, would have repudiated. In 1925, Parliament passed all the national endowments over to the Church of Scotland on this new basis or contract, to be administered by Commissioners of that Church.

The result, then, is that the Reformed Faith has been disestablished and disendowed, but the Church of Scotland continues established and endowed, holding the ancient patrimony on the simple pledge of being Trinitarian and Protestant. Such a State connection carries with it prestige, privilege, and influences that can neither be easily defined nor denied, but which are very real. The United Free

[1] See Bell's *Documents on Christian Unity* (1924), p. 170 ff.

Church is about to unite with the Church of Scotland so established and endowed, even though for more than twenty-five years it never ceased to inveigh against the iniquity and inequity of a privileged State Church. True it is that the new State connection is freer and easier, but it is State connection, nevertheless. The change of policy and attitude on the part of the United Free Church can be easily traced. First of all, their ecclesiastical theory of Voluntaryism vanished, when they, in their eagerness to recover Church property that was adjudicated not theirs, silently acquiesced in the action of the State, through Act of Parliament in 1905, conferring liberty to change its Formula on the State Church, and thus flagrantly contradicted their constantly repeated conviction that the only freedom the State should confer on the Church was the freedom of separation. In the second place, Voluntaryism on its practical side was immolated on the altar of necessity when the United Free Church accepted from the State, and under Royal Warrant, the patrimony of the Free Church. Partisans ease their ecclesiastical consciences by alleging that they were only getting back their own. The Church of Scotland can say the same of " patrimony of the Kirk," and with as convincing a reasoning. Thus, every real barrier having been removed, the way was opened for the union that will be consummated within a few years. The United Church will only be the Church of Scotland enlarged. The Church of Scotland is, as

it may well be, with the exception of solitary voices that murmur against certain monetary losses involved, unanimous for the Union. But in the United Free Church there is well-organised opposition which, if the leaders are to be believed, will refuse to enter the Union, and will continue as the United Free Church. This opposition is grounded not on doctrinal but ecclesiastical differences. Those who form it are the living representatives of old Voluntaryism, and they allege that the " Statutory Church " perpetuated by the Parliamentary Act of 1921 is without the freedom, independence, and equality requisite in a Free Church. They allege, and not without good reason, that the Church, whose basis of Union must necessarily be in harmony with that Act, is shackled to a statement of belief—Trinitarianism and Protestant—which is unalterable except by the permission of the State. Such is their ostensible reason for opposing the coming Union, but behind this there is a sneaking dislike—the echo of past feuds—for the Church of Scotland, whose " atmosphere " is said to be less warm to their type of evangelism and drastic measures of temperance and social reform than that of the United Free Church. But the Union is coming, even though it is scarcely creating a ripple of religious excitement on the placid sea of almost universal apathy. The Church of Scotland enlarged, even though doctrinally but a pale reflection of the Reformed Church, will be a mighty organisa-

tion, and even those who cannot share in its privileges and endowments join in the wish that it may be for Scotland's good.

IX

But notwithstanding the prevailing "deadness of religion" in Scotland, there are indications of a "turning aside by instinct to the true sources of its national greatness, and seeking to renew its hold upon religious tradition that has given depth and seriousness and courage to its national soul." [1] Charity abounds. Public opinion, as expressed in the leading newspapers, has a strong Christian tone, and a deep sense of moral values. The unrest and dissatisfaction with an environment that oppression and injustice helped to create are evidences of consciences awakened by Christian influence. The loud cry for righteousness in national, civic, and family life is the echo of Christian doctrine. The numerous charitable and State agencies for the amelioration of the lot of the helpless, and the honourable position of the aged poor, reaping the reward of their invested labour, are the fruit of Christian teaching. The decrease of grosser crimes, and the recoil of the national conscience from the ruder and more vulgar habits of a past age, should be credited to Christian agency. Furthermore, the deep, mysterious workings of the Spirit of God, with their eternal issues, are beyond all human

[1] Professor Hetherington in *The Outlook*, 21st January 1927.

calculations, and who can comprehend the full bearing of the inscrutable doings of Him of whom it is said : " Thy way is in the sea, and Thy path in the great waters, and Thy footsteps are not known." [1] Still, there is " something lacking in preaching and in worship, in corporate life and social service," which nothing but a revival of religion will bestow [2] —" all creatures sigh to be renewed." Multitudes of good people believingly, expectantly, pray for a revival. Scottish religious life is throbbing with the hope of it, and with the hope of the Church recovering its authority and power, but not by setting forth a mere code of ethics, or a programme of social redemption, but by the dynamic of the gospel of redeeming love [3]—by the evangelicalism of Calvinism—which in the past made Scotland respected and esteemed among the nations of the world.

[1] Psalm lxxvii. 19.

[2] *The Turn of the Tide*, p. 23.

[3] Cf. Dr. Stewart's *A Plea for a Positive Evangel* (1926), p. 28 ff.

LECTURE V

THE THEOLOGICAL OUTLOOK

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I

Not even the most perfervid Scot could claim to-day that his countrymen were all theologians, as they were alleged to have been in a former age. For in Scotland, as elsewhere, theology has fallen on evil days. Dethroned from her queenly position among the sciences, she has become, to a painful extent, the plaything of the witty and the scornful. Theology is no longer the imposing authority behind the preacher which it used to be. The popular sermon scarcely even hints at doctrine, except sometimes to deride it. And there are many who see in this want of theology the tragedy of the Church to-day. Vigorous religious life never fails to give expression to itself in a correspondingly vigorous theology, and the absence of the one accounts for the lack of the other. But still no preacher can express his thoughts or carry conviction to his hearers without speaking theology, either nebulous or clear. But with belief in an infallible Bible widely denied the ancient seat of authority is gone, and no system of dogmatics can be written

which would be acceptable to so many differing views. There is, therefore, no one theology in Scotland to-day, but a mosaic of many theologies. And these, too, can be traced to their origins.

Through the mediation of such philosophers as Caird and Jones, Hegelianism has widely affected Scottish theology. In its extremer effects both theology and religion have been subordinated to philosophy. The influence of Schleiermacher with his contrasts of "feeling" and "thought" as distinguishing religion from philosophy laid a permanent mark on Scottish theology. Even the moderate Calvinist, Professor J. S. Candlish, of the Free Church College in Glasgow, welcomed the reduced form of Schleiermacher's basis found in Martensen and Van Oosterzee, accepting the Scriptures as the true source of doctrine, but making the religious conscience its ordering principle. Then followed the Ritschlian influence, which is to-day dominating the larger Churches in Scotland. Its theology of morality and religion,[1] which eliminated everything remedial from the Christian Gospel, occupies the most conspicuous place in the theologies of Scotland. But what made these influences so potent and successful was the general decline going on in Scottish theology from the eighteenth century. The revolt from the definite teaching of the creed towards the end of that century was then suppressed,

[1] Cf. President Patton, *Fundamental Christianity* (1925), p. 199 ff.

as has been noticed, but its spirit was not crushed. After the Disruption of 1843 it showed itself in the liberalising movements in religious thought, forms of worship and Sabbath observance associated with the names of Dr. Robert Lee, Professor John Caird, and Dr. Norman Macleod. The old indifference to Calvinistic dogmatics soon became an aggressive opponent. In the Free Church, Dr. Chalmers's *Institutes of Theology* gave no uncertain expression to Calvinistic evangelicalism. But the vigorous and erudite exposition of Calvinism by Principal William Cunningham of the New College, Edinburgh, and Professor Crawford of the University of Edinburgh, may be regarded as representing the last phase of the pure Calvinistic tradition in Scotland.[1] Theologies after their day depart from this tradition and show indubitable signs of a great change under the influences referred to. Professor Hastie of the Glasgow University, a moderate Calvinist, is a witness to this change. He regarded the Reformed theology as broad and progressive and embodying the principle of evolution. He approvingly admires Schweizer of Zurich's adaptation of Schleiermacher's views to the Reformed Theology, and in Scholten of Leyden's treatment of the divine sovereignty and decrees with its emphasis on reason as issuing in universalism, Hastie may be looked upon as generally concurring.[2]

[1] Hastie's *Theology*, p. 228.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 145 ff.

Concurrently with the foregoing were the deleterious effects, as undermining the authority of Scripture, the basis of all true Christian Theology, of the critical approach to the Bible. The spirit of this "Higher Criticism," as it is termed, is old in Scotland, though its application there, at least, is comparatively recent. Bede relates [1] the story of a certain Scot, named Ronan, who travelled through Italy and Gaul and imbibed the "ecclesiastical truth" with reference to the observance of Easter, which was the great question in dispute between the Columban and Roman Church in the seventh century. Ronan came to Lindisfarne—a Columban monastic settlement—a "most zealous defender of the true Easter," according to the learning of Gaul and Italy. He vaunted his knowledge in a truculent manner before the pious Bishop Finan, a firm believer in the old orthodoxy of his Church, but whom Ronan regarded as an ignorant obscurantist. This was more than Finan could bear. He was righteously indignant at this display of learning that was more remarkable for its pride than its prudence, so that he was made "more inveterate by the reproof" of Ronan. Here bitterness begat bitterness. Ronan was a prototype of a great company of Scottish critics, who have drunk so freely of the well of continental critical learning as to blur their own individuality, and his effect on Finan is not dissimilar to their effect upon true Scottish piety.

[1] *Bædæ Opera* (Plummer), vol. i. p. 181, vol. ii. p. 188.

The sincerity of either of the protagonists need not be suspected. But critics who sneer at the beliefs and scholarship of those who cannot rest in negation and uncertainty, mar their sincerity. The great Agnostic, Viscount Morley, would teach them a Christian lesson, when to a lady who faced without fear a dangerous operation, with the sustaining strength of her very definite faith, he said, " I would give all I have done and been to have what you have." [1]

II

But let us now consider more closely how far these factors affect present-day theology. Viewing theology in its widest meaning, let us then consider: Present-day attitude of *Science* to theology by giving a mere outline of important movements in our own times. One of the most significant events of recent times is the definite abandonment by science in the twentieth century of the mechanistic theory of the universe held by the science of the nineteenth century. According to that theory the world was one vast machine working according to mathematical principles and automatically. Descartes, its founder, made man the only exception to mechanistic process. La Mettrie, in his work, *L'Homme Machine,* removed this exception. Sir Isaac Newton's discovery of the law of gravitation was taken as a confirmation of the mechanistic theory of the universe, whilst Darwin's theory of

[1] *Times Literary Supplement,* 3rd February 1927.

evolution by natural selection was hailed as the crown and consummation of the mechanistic scheme. Scientists of the school of Tyndall, Huxley, Spencer, and Clifford believed that they had essentially solved the riddle of the universe, or were on the sure road to do so. Under these authorities science became oracular, arrogant, and even aggressive. This provoked a reaction. Science was called by philosophy to state and justify its principles and methods. In the end, the mechanistic theory was discredited and set aside as artificial, abstract, even doubtfully true only for solar matter, but otherwise quite inadequate to the world and the fulness thereof. Wholly false in its interpretation of life and mind, materialism thus received a blow from which it has not yet recovered.

Three other cardinal points in the attitude of current science to theology claim attention as live issues, namely, Darwinism, Creation, and Miracle. As already noted, Darwinism was received as the crown and consummation of the mechanistic theory of the universe. But it has been severely challenged by the science of the twentieth century. All its outstanding principles have been the subject of the most adverse criticism. It has no explanation of the "sudden apparition of species," or of "terminal forms," or of the great "gaps" in series of living forms, or of "inversions" in the geological records. It has no concrete proof whatever of genetic continuity, which is fundamental to the theory. Its

exploitation of the Piltdown Skull, as a link between man and sub-human creatures, is discredited even by such a stalwart as Sir Ray Lankester. So far is Darwinism from the realities of nature, that Van de Vries—one of the greatest modern experts—has declared : " The constancy of species is a demonstrated fact ; their transmutability is still a matter of theory." The late Professor Bateson, of no less eminence than the foregoing authority, declared : " We must open our minds to the possibility that evolution is from the complex to the simple." Dr. Cunningham, Professor of Zoology in the University of London, a few years ago, declared before a meeting of the British Association : " Darwinism is as dead as the Dodo." And quite recently (1927), Professor Osborne of Columbia University, U.S.A., has declared the " descent " of man from the ape as a " myth," " and the ape-ancestry hypothesis is entirely out of date." [1] That verdict can be amply justified by concrete facts. Darwinism survives only as a speculative theory. Certain Churches in Scotland are modifying their doctrines in accordance with Darwinism of the nineteenth century, whilst they deem themselves to be " in the foremost files of time." The moral here is so self-evident that it need not be formally drawn.

Another of the issues of our times is the bearing of the most recent science on the scriptural doctrine of creation. The old mechanistic theory of the

[1] *New York Times.*

universe had no room for such a doctrine. To say the least, it taught that the sum-total of energy in the universe was a fixed quantum. As far, therefore, as the science of the nineteenth century could look backwards through the ages, it could find no trace of a beginning. But the science of the twentieth century finds that the universe is like a clock running down. The science of the previous century was cognizant of that process, but failed duly to appreciate the fact that the running down of the world-clock implied a previous winding up of it. Recent science emphasises this point, and recognises the higher organisation of energy as we recede from the present in point of time. Recent science also declares that this higher organisation of energy in previous ages must have had a limit. That brings a beginning into view and fully justifies the settled and declared opinions of Lord Kelvin and Clark-Maxwell, two scientists of the highest repute, that creation in the scriptural sense is a fact not to be set aside by sciolists. The latest science is here in full accord with sound theology.

Another burning question of our times is miracle as a supernatural event in the external world, incapable of subsumption under known laws of nature, having for its immediate antecedent the will of God. The mechanistic theory of the science of the nineteenth century found no place for miracle as defined above. The world-machine was under fixed laws, which expressed what had always been,

what would always be, what must always be. The world-machine was also automatic in its operation : it was a system self-contained and shut off from all other systems, conceivable or inconceivable. The sum-total of its inherent energies was an immutable quantum. Miracle, therefore, was unthinkable. But the science of the nineteenth century did not perceive that the foregoing dogmas implied omniscience. The science of the twentieth century is free from such illusions. It frankly recognises that the laws of nature are not immutable. They are mere descriptions of recognised uniformities of nature—economic formulæ—which lie, as it were, at the mercy of any new fact, which may modify or even abolish what was regarded previously as a law of nature. Further, the science of the twentieth century affirms only a relatively fixed order of nature : for, to the confusion of the older science, it affirms a doctrinal Epigenesis or Creative Synthesis, and finds actual proof of the same in the emergence of life, sentient life, and conscious life, on our globe ; not to mention the received doctrine of mutation. The most recent science therefore raises no objection to the possibility of miracle, and the same is its attitude to petitionary prayer. Such preachers in Scotland, therefore, as disallow the miraculous, and there are such in the larger Churches, are, in this particular, at the standpoint of the science of the past century.

Let us next consider philosophy in relation to

theology. As already hinted at, materialism is not taught from any of the philosophic Chairs of the Universities of Scotland. Hegelianism and neo-Hegelianism, which have had their day as systems of philosophy, now come in as but elements in philosophic courses of study. Pragmatism is no longer a live issue : it remains practically where William James and Groce left it. Bergsonism has been " canonised " as a classic. It contains many valuable elements, but sadly needs recasting and development. The neutral monism of Bertrand Russell is a philosophic freak with its depreciation of the Cartesian dualism of mind and matter, its " neutral stuff or stuffs being neither mental nor material." This philosophy has as its motif " the will-not-to believe." Its subtilty is such that it can have no future. Pluralism in its different forms still claims attention, mainly as a reaction against a soaring idealism. The spiritualist pluralism of A. Aliotta is too anarchic and too frankly atheistical to claim serious regard outside of Italy. Good work has been done upon theism since the beginning of this century. The Gifford Lectures of the four Scottish Universities are about equally divided between theism and pantheism. The ethical element is strong, but divine personality tends to be obscured in some cases by a pantheistic haze. Partly as a result of the recent Great War the question of immortality is engaging the thoughts of many minds, and philosophy is doing justice to mind, free will,

and immortality. Spiritualism is offering its proofs of the survival of human personality, and has gained access to certain of the Churches, being formally introduced to the Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1922, for discussion and report. But its evidences of survival of personality confessedly do not guarantee immortality. Philosophy at the present moment teaches that the divine life is continuous with the higher nature of man. It lays stress on the cultivation of the True, the Good, the Beautiful, as supreme values which God Himself cannot ignore. Thus immortality is assured. Conditional immortality is taught in some of the Churches; and ambitious preachers are making large use of the new psychology to the detriment of the Gospel. The science of the twentieth century at the points referred to, and other points not dealt with, is, on the whole, singularly favourable to evangelical theology. The same, in a lesser degree, is true of philosophy also. The outlook of theology, then, from the standpoint of the most recent science and sober philosophy, is most hopeful; showing in a strong general sense that the Gospel is eminently suited to the intellectual and moral needs of man—still the power of God unto salvation.

III

Let us next consider the attitude of criticism to the Bible and its effect on theology. The critical method was quietly introduced to the New College,

Edinburgh, in 1863, when Professor A. B. Davidson was appointed to the Chair of Old Testament Exegesis there. Davidson was a brilliant Hebrew scholar with a charming personality. For nearly forty years he imbued his students with his methods and exercised a wide influence over the ministry of the Church. Much less cautious and less attractive was his famous pupil, William Robertson Smith. He became Professor of Hebrew in the Aberdeen College in 1870. He boldly taught the Wellhausen method, which he slavishly copied. The result of a long-drawn-out struggle was Robertson Smith's removal from his Chair. But his method remained in the Church. Since 1900, with the liberty afforded by a relaxed formula, this method, which up to that date was merely tolerated, is taught by right in all the United Free Church Colleges. The changed formula of 1909 of the Church of Scotland was in effect a concession, and an acknowledgment of the right to hold and teach such opinions in the Divinity faculty of the Universities. The present-day attitude, then, of the Professors of Hebrew in these Churches to the Old Testament is that they adopt the Wellhausen-Kuenen position with certain modifications. The Hexateuch is analysed into the four main documents, J E D P (J, 850 B.C.; E, 750; D, 690–621; P, 550–450).[1] The prophetic narrative is said to extend into Judges and possibly

[1] Professor M'Fadyen, *The Approach to the Old Testament* (1926), p. 174 f.

into Samuel–Kings. The books of the Prophets are in some parts said to be composite, particularly the Book of Isaiah,[1] of which Deutero-Isaiah (chs. 40–45) dates from the Exile, and Trito-Isaiah (chs. 56–66) from the time of Malachi. Most of the Psalms are treated as being post-exilic. Ecclesiastes is said to have been written about 200 B.C., and Daniel in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes. As an individual divergence in detail from the teaching of this school there may be mentioned the theory of Professor A. C. Welch of the New College, Edinburgh, who holds that the nucleus of Deuteronomy was not the book found in the temple in 621, but that it had its origin in Northern Israel in the time of the early kings.

In the main, therefore, the treatment of the books of the Old Testament is similar to that of the Wellhausen School; that is, as far as literary criticism and dates and mode of composition are concerned. But here an important point of difference has to be noted. The Scottish critics, in common with many modern critics in other Christian lands, claim that, whilst they accept the *literary* results of criticism, they maintain an evangelical position as far as the religious value of the Old Testament is concerned, that they find in it not merely a reflection of the growth of religious sentiment or a naturalistic development of human thought, but a divine

[1] Professor M'Fadyen, *The Approach to the Old Testament* (1926), p. 230.

revelation, the history of a people who were under divine guidance ; and, in the case of Psalmists and Prophets, the utterances of men who had a message from God for their fellows and for succeeding generations. Even the Book of Daniel, in spite of its late date (in their opinion) and its mistaken prediction (they say) regarding the death of Antiochus, "is instinct with the power of God Himself, 'inspired,' if anything in this world is inspired." [1]

Whilst claims like these are put forward with persistence and vehemence, we must not understand that the views of these critics regarding the Old Testament at all correspond with the teaching associated with Calvinistic evangelicalism. A few points will illustrate this. Anything like infallibility, as that term is historically understood, is no longer attributed to it. The stories of the patriarchs are regarded as folklore and legends. The narrative in many other places is regarded as not historically true,[2] or is deliberately given a colouring, as in the Priestly Code and in Chronicles, to harmonise with a phase of thought. The possibility of miracle is not wholly denied, but in most cases the account given of miraculous occurrences is discredited, and a new connotation is given to miracle, and it is in the whole, namely, in the Bible and in the history behind it, that the real miracle is to be

[1] Professor M'Fadyen, *The Approach to the Old Testament* (1926), p. 233.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

found more than in the detail. The miraculous, the presence of the supernatural, "*may* still be recognised even in individual incidents; it *must* be recognised in the uniqueness of the history, the religion, and the great personalities of Israel." [1]

Here it should be observed that it is difficult after a study of their writings to make a precise statement as to what these critics would have us understand by the terms "inspiration" and "miracle," but undoubtedly the tendency seems to be to obliterate the distinction between the natural and the supernatural.

When we look at their view of prophecy we find that great stress is laid on the prophet's function as a teacher, declaring the divine attributes and the divine will, but the element of prediction in prophecy is treated in a way similar to their treatment of miracle. It is not entirely eliminated, but a case has to be made for its retention. Historical evangelicalism always laid great emphasis on the Messianic prediction in the Old Testament, for which ample warrant was found in the New Testament. By the modern critics, however, the subject is presented in a totally different light. Many of the notable passages they discard as having no reference to the Messiah. Even the description of the suffering Servant in the 53rd chapter of Isaiah is not regarded as a prediction concerning Christ.

[1] Professor M'Fadyen, *The Approach to the Old Testament* (1926), p. 154.

The eminent Hebraist, Principal Sir George Adam Smith, of the University of Aberdeen, is, however, an exception, as he finds Christ in the suffering Servant there. But the rest, *e.g.* Professor James Moffatt, in his new translation of the Bible, declares that such references can be associated with Christ only in an indirect manner. In Isaiah liii. they say we have only a description of the people of Israel, as the revealers of true religion to the world, subjected to sorrow and suffering in realising their destiny, which is to be consummated in glory and honour. Although this is said here of Israel, and of Israel only, the same could be said of any good man who has a like experience, and it could be said of Jesus of Nazareth more than of any other. The description then would be more applicable to Christ than to "Israel, My Servant," of whom it is spoken, since Christ's work and experience correspond to its terms more exactly. In that sense only can it be regarded as Messianic and fulfilled in His sufferings and glory.

Further, according to the critics, "the moral difficulties of the Old Testament are neither few nor trivial."[1] These difficulties gather thickly, they allege, about the earlier books, but they are not confined to these, but are found in the latest and noblest of prophetic books. They consist of "deception, cruelty, sexual licence, and hatred, ferocity

[1] Professor M'Fadyen, *The Approach to the Old Testament* (1926), p. 37 ff.

of temper and criminal petulance," shown by Israel's noblest men: her patriarchs, judges, kings, and prophets. But more terrible still is it that God Himself behaves in a similar fashion, as a "cruel and capricious God." This, then, is the Old Testament, not as confirmed and attested by our Lord, but as dissected by Scottish critics of to-day. But, strange as it may seem, these critics who seek to overthrow the traditional belief in the Bible admit that these very "moral inadequacies" which form their fulcrum are only "sporadic" and "incidental," and that "vastly too much has been made of them"; for, as one of them says, "as well judge a sculptor by a fragment of broken stone in his studio." It is their business and not ours to justify their method. The "sure" instrument of which they make use is the "documentary hypothesis," and it is claimed for this hypothesis that it can operate with almost mathematical certainty. Therefore Professor Peake writes "that many assured results have been reached, which the future is not likely to reverse," and that his "summary of accepted results would even now command the assent of most Old Testament scholars." In this, Professor M'Fadyen heartily concurs.[1] These confident assertions are misleading, and they are scarcely creditable to the candour and scholarship of those who use them. Here problems are not discussed; notice is taken only of known facts.

[1] *Approach*, pp. 173, 174.

The facts are that to-day many scholars of high repute repudiate the documentary hypothesis as a sure instrument, and deny the "assured results" alleged to have been reached by its use. In 1908, Professor B. D. Eerdmans, successor to the famous Kuenen at the University of Leyden, published his *Alttestamentliche Studien I., Genesis.* In his preface to *Genesis* he repudiates (*sage ich mich los*) the Graf-Kuenen-Wellhausen critical school, and hotly disputes (*bestreite*) the so-called (*sogenannte*) documentary hypothesis. In his *Exodus*, 1910, and his *Leviticus*, 1912, and up to the present day, he holds firmly to his position. Eerdmans is a radical modernist, a fact which should give weight to his views in the estimation of some people. Professor F. M. Th. Böhl, of the University of Groningen, writes in his short dictionary on the Old Testament, that the suppositions on which the documentary hypothesis is resting can no longer be accepted as a basis of scientific research. He affirms that Pentateuch research is now in a period of transition, and that a more accurate appliance of the critical method will lead to more conservative results.[1] In his *Genesis* [2] he utters his strong doubts as to the sureness as well as the importance of the division of the Pentateuch into different sources. Professor Böhl is a moderate critic. Professor A. Noordtzij, as *Rector Magnificus* of the University of Utrecht,

[1] I. *Het Oude Testament* (1919), p. 239.
[2] Part I. (1923), pp. 16, 17.

on 26th March 1927 delivered an oration [1] in which he vigorously and successfully controverts the whole of the Wellhausen theory. Professor Noordtzij is a strong Calvinist. To these names, from among many others, that of Professor G. Ch. Aalders, of the Free University of Amsterdam, should be added. His many contributions to the maintenance of orthodox belief in the Old Testament are recognised as marked by scholarly insight and acumen. The list could easily be largely increased by adding names of distinguished scholars in France, Germany, and Hungary. Suffice it, however, to mention only one more, Professor Dick Wilson of Princeton. His latest volume, *A Scientific Investigation of the Old Testament*, 1926, is both scholarly and scientific to a degree that should satisfy the most meticulous and exacting of the critics, who ask for "the patient investigation of the facts." Professor Dick Wilson's conclusions, like those already referred to, leave no option to the open-minded Christian, but to admit frankly that the results are far from being "assured" or "accepted." In view of these facts it is, therefore, surely irreverent and audacious on the part of Professor M'Fadyen to insinuate that the ransomed of the Lord, who hold to the belief of their Redeemer, His apostles, martyrs, confessors, and scholars down the ages to the present day, and refuse to accept instead the hotly disputed views

[1] *Het probleem van het Oude Testament*, pp. 20–47.

of *some* scholars, are under a "yoke of bondage to an indefensible traditionalism (Gal. v. 1)." [1]

IV

The critical method is not confined to the Old Testament. Long before the close of last century it was applied to the New Testament also. The first to use this method was Professor Bruce of the Free Church College, Glasgow. He was a brusque man, but a fluent, if shallow, exegete. Towards the end of his career he collaborated with Professor Schmiedel of Zurich in producing the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. And with reference to his attitude to the divinity and sinlessness of our Lord, Sir William Robertson Nicoll, a critic of wide reputation, has written: "Words have no meaning if Schmiedel does not deny the sinlessness of Christ, and certainly Bruce goes a long way in that direction." It was in the last decade of last century that students in the New College, Edinburgh, were first taught the new method by Professor Marcus Dods. Dods was a painstaking, cold, and clear exegete, lacking in originality. But so much had the Church become permeated by the new method since Robertson Smith was removed from his Chair, that, when evangelical orthodoxy challenged the teaching of these two Professors by disciplinary process, it was heavily defeated, as it was also in the case of Professor George Adam Smith in 1902. From the

[1] *Approach*, pp. 7, 8.

Union of 1900, when obstructive orthodoxy was assumed to have remained in the Free Church, the United Free Church has been warmly receptive of, and hospitable to, radical ideas and constructions. Such Modernism was generally regarded as the badge of genuine culture in its teaching staffs, at any rate. In illustration of this, when the Rev. James Moffatt (now Professor in the Union Theological Seminary, New York) launched his scholarly but radical *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, instead of it proving a bar sinister to his preferment, it ultimately helped to secure for him a Professor's Chair. Professor Moffatt is a voluminous and versatile writer, but in his *Introduction* and his *The Approach to the New Testament* he may be regarded as representing generally the views of his colleagues in the Colleges of his Church, and also to the same extent those of professors of the faculty of Divinity in the Universities. Professor Moffatt has turned the full battery of advanced criticism on the whole of the New Testament, on its canon, text, historicity, and authority. The Synoptic Gospels and the Fourth Gospel are said not to be the production of eye-witnesses of what they record, nor even of writers of gospel history taught and transmitted orally, but of transcribers, and not too accurate at that, from two or three documentary sources. These irrecoverable sources, or as much of them as can be disentangled from the general narratives, are the really authoritative parts, so

that the testimony of the Gospels severally, as we have them, should not be treated as independent and ultimate. There is thus, probably, an irreducible minimum of history in the Gospels which is all that is left us for forming a true estimate of our Lord. The Epistolary portion of the New Testament is subjected to the same severe criticism, with the result that whatever else we have in the New Testament we have not an infallible record such as evangelical Christians have always regarded it. Still, although Dr. Moffatt and Dr. H. A. A. Kennedy —the two most prolific New Testament exegetes in Scotland—are advanced in their views of the authorship and contents of the New Testament books, they aim at avoiding subjectivism in their interpretation of the Scriptures. While they do not recognise the written words as authoritative and obligatory on the conscience as inspired utterances, their interpretation is made to correspond with the objective data, or texts, with which they are dealing. Apparently these advanced views are so widespread in the United Free Church, and so generally acceptable, that the Official Record of the Church from April to September 1926 contained a series of articles which set forth such alleged irreconcilable discrepancies in the New Testament as should justify the Church in departing from the evangelical doctrine of the infallibility of the New Testament. Similar views have been expressed in official leaflets to the people, and, *e.g.*, Dr. A. Herbert Gray in one

such plainly and bluntly declines to regard the Bible as a reliable guide in either history or morals, and feels himself under no obligation to accept what Paul teaches in doctrine as final.

But Scottish Scholarship is not wholly ranged on the side of such critics. Sir W. M. Ramsay, formerly Professor of Humanity in the University of Aberdeen, and now retired in Edinburgh, is a New Testament scholar of world-wide reputation, a great classicist, and an eminent archæologist. He has succeeded probably more than any other scholar anywhere to undermine the principles of the Tübingen School, and discredit their conclusions as to chronology and assertions of irreconcilable antagonisms, and in restating and re-establishing belief in the historicity of the Acts of the Apostles and our Third Gospel. Nor should Professor Milligan's service to genuine New Testament scholarship be left unnoticed; for by his Commentaries on the *Thessalonians* and his labour on the *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament,* he has made lovers of God's Word everywhere his debtors.

V

With the postulates of nineteenth-century science and philosophy severely challenged, and with the theories of Schleiermacher and Ritschl vigorously assailed in the country of their nativity, and with criticism represented by warring schools, it need not be surprising that theologies, such as they are,

are incoherent and contradicting, and fail to arrive at any generally accepted laws and principles. For out of the small residuum of history left in the New Testament, theologians have portrayed differing Christs. With one he is the pale Galilean peasant, weak and effeminate; with others he is the fanatical visionary whose "Kingdom of God" is an eschatological concept. But the portrait that is most in favour to-day is one of the "Jesus of History," "whom the past prejudice of a somewhat sentimental piety" is alleged to have hidden in his more virile features, on a canvas where the "sentimental piety" dominated. This Jesus is a "genius," and is free of any eschatological visions, and His kingdom is in this world. This generation must therefore lay hold of "the strength, vitality, courage, and force of the human Jesus which it has discovered for itself," [1] and enter with it on a campaign for social righteousness that will save society. But "can this Jesus save the sinner?" is a great question to which no positive answer is given. When soteriology is evacuated of its primary element of atonement in the evangelical sense, and according to Principal Cairns such "obsolete theories of the Atonement are now weaker" [2] than they were, what meaning and power there can be in the Cross one has difficulty in under-

[1] Professor J. A. Robertson in *British Weekly*, 11th November 1926.

[2] *Ibid.*

standing. Some, at least, of the opponents of Athanasius might have as justly and with as good a reason put forward a similar claim for their "Christ," but it was not their Christ, but the Christ who, according to Athanasius, "was made man that we might be made divine," that saved the Church from extinction and society from chaos. Nor should it be assumed that the new social gospel adumbrated in this "new attitude to Christ," which is said to be a living factor of the life of to-day, can attain its goal of social regeneration. For Comte, more than one hundred years ago, conceived a sociology not wholly dissimilar in its aims. It was popularised by Taine. This "Positivism" or "Religion of Humanity" was introduced to England by Herbert Spencer and Frederic Harrison, and towards the end of last century it had wide vogue and was a fashionable creed. But this Sociology, or philosophy of life, fell into discredit, and eventually dropped into sudden oblivion.

In the department of pure *Dogmatics* very little of abiding value has been produced in Scotland within recent years. The latest book deserving notice under this head is one entitled *Christian Fundamentals*, by Professor A. C. Baird of Aberdeen University. Its aim is to restore belief in the Articles of the "Apostles' Creed" by a process of reasoning in terms of, and conformable to, nineteenth-century philosophy, science, and criticism, and without sympathy with evangelical Calvinism.

Its tone in places is unnecessarily harsh, and some of its illustrative matter is crude and disrespectful. Its criticism of writers of the author's own school, sharp enough at times, shows not only how far modern theologians are from agreement among themselves as to the Being of God, the Person of the Holy Spirit, the Incarnation, Resurrection of the Eternal Son of God, but how far removed they are from the Reformed System of doctrine. Even so devout a writer as Professor H. M. Reid of the University of Glasgow in his book, *The Holy Spirit and the Mystics*, although he contends for the supreme Deity and Personality of the Third Person of the Adorable Trinity, and a true fellowship on the part of believers with God in Christ, through the Holy Spirit, can scarcely be regarded as holding any of his beliefs on the pure objective ground that thus the Scriptures teach. Of course, all the liberal theologians quote Scriptures when they serve their purpose, sometimes regardless of the barriers of "interpolations," and with greater freedom in this respect than they generally allow theologians of the traditional school. More profound is *The Doctrine of the Person of Christ* (1912), by Professor H. R. Mackintosh of the New College, Edinburgh, one of the most outstanding of the living theologians of Scotland. Though his book is often brilliant and clear, it does not always yield to logical analysis. Its fundamental note is adoration of the Divine Saviour and acknowledgment of Christ as truly

God. Yet the theoretical construction of the doctrine of Christ's Person would suggest a place midway between Socinianism and orthodoxy, and the Christ whom he has given us seems to be "a Christ who is rather ethically like God than a Christ who is God." [1] With all the wealth of thought poured out in this book, in view of its postulates being still in the crucible, it is questionable whether it will abide in its present form a permanent contribution to *Dogmatics*.

It should be noted that underlying, or behind all modern theology, is an interpretation of the Divine Sovereignty in terms of Divine Fatherhood; and of the divine decrees as expressions of this benevolent Fatherhood. Here Arminianism and Calvinism are brought together, and, as Dr. Denney remarked with apparent approval, "there will be a strong disposition or tendency to favour Universalism." [2] "God the Father" is the Father of the parable of the Prodigal Son, and all prodigal sons shall ultimately return to the father's home.

VI

The general effect of this undermining of the authority of the Bible by the methods indicated and by free exegesis and pliant dogmas is precisely as Sir William Robertson Nicoll forecasted in 1901:

[1] *Princeton Theol. Rev.*, vol. xi. p. 149.
[2] *Letters of Principal James Denney*, p. 107.

"I am quite sure that when the people get to understand what is involved in the critical view of the New Testament they will be deeply moved, some to complete rejection of Christianity, and many to fierce, unreasoning bigotry." [1] And none have become so bitter and bigoted in their hostility to Christianity than a supercilious and shallow *intelligenzia* who have been driven by criticism into unbelief. How to win these and others back into the Church, and retain within it the many who are restive and dissatisfied, is the difficult problem that confronts those who have helped to create it. At first it was suggested that criticism should drop its message on the people gently, as the dew that falls in the calm night. So the "new truths should dawn on the Church as gently as the sunlight." This process of inoculation has become too slow for the more robust critics, who now urge that such a "policy" cannot safeguard the "orthodox" of the congregation, and therefore the preacher should be more fearless and courageous in restating the Christian faith in modern terms. Others have discovered that such a courageous restatement produces so thin a gospel that people have become alarmed at the prospect of losing any definite Divine remedy for human ills and woes. What then? A frank dualism is proposed [2] in which a man can

[1] *William Robertson Nicoll Life and Letters*, pp. 350, 351.
[2] Cf. *The Expository Times*, December 1926, pp. 101, 102.

be a "traditionalist and a modernist" at the same time by the use of evangelical phraseology connoting entirely different conceptions from what a modernist actually believes. In this way they shall *appear* to hold evangelical beliefs while accepting modernist critical views. The futility of attempting to hold by such a dualism was fiercely exposed by Thomas Carlyle in the typical case of Robertson Smith. Carlyle, who had then drifted, under the influence of German rationalism, from the theology of the Shorter Catechism, which he knew as well as most men, to cold Deism, thus thundered: "Have my countrymen's heads become turnips when they think they can hold the premises of German unbelief and draw the conclusions of Scottish Evangelical orthodoxy?" [1] And earlier still, and quite as scathingly, Hugh Miller pilloried for ever this modern dualism as it appeared in moderatism in the Assembly of 1796 when he described it as "an infidelity that purported to be anti-Christian on Biblical authority—that, at least, while it robed itself in the proper habiliments of unbelief, took the liberty of lacing them with Scripture edgings." [2] Scotland rejected the dualism of the Moderates, and it is not likely to accept its present-day successor; for whatever faults the Scottish mind may have, it cannot be said to be lacking in admiration for

[1] *Princeton Theol. Rev.*, April 1926, p. 190.

[2] Hugh Miller, *Church of Scotland Missionary and Anti-Missionary*, p. 16.

sincerity and honesty, neither of which is apparent in this dualism.

But still more serious is the prevalent neglect of the Bible, for which the critics are not too ready to accept responsibility, even though they are forced to admit that criticism has created a distrust of the Bible and a general atmosphere wholly "unfavourable to a wide and ready appreciation of the Bible." Criticism has, however, undoubtedly produced this result in two ways. First, it has greatly influenced, through the Colleges and Halls, the religious views of the ministry, and through them a select section of the people whose great ambition is to be openly identified with a liberal religion free of restraints, and so to be entitled to wear such a popular badge of culture. But these merely borrow their badge, for they have not travelled the hard road towards its attainment by acquisitive knowledge. And, of course, they are noisy in their contempt of orthodoxy. Their attachment to the Church is loose and their attendance on the Means of Grace irregular, so that they are really a weakness to the Christian cause. Second, the results of criticism, which are confined to books which few poor people can buy or understand, come nevertheless to this large class of the community through cheap anti-Christian and salacious literature, and in both instances criticism is made the handmaid of irreligion and immorality with pernicious effects. In order to retain the former in the Church and to reclaim the latter, it

is suggested as a remedy that criticism should be studied more closely and Scripture expounded more emphatically in terms thereof. But the remedy is foredoomed to failure for the simple reason that those whom it is desired to reach have neither the aptitude nor inclination to study the Bible as a superior classic, nor weigh probabilities, and discriminate between contending theories as to what in it is history or legend, a just judgment or a monstrous cruelty, a disciplinary chastisement or a revolting horror, a divinely inspired and authoritative utterance, or an ecstatic outburst of a raving visionary or of an extreme converted Pharisee. But the Bible is still read in Scotland as the divinely inspired Book of God which actually means what it says. Those who thus approach it are the mainstay of the Churches, even though critics seem to have little regard for their Christian susceptibilities. They have perhaps been browbeaten by the more arrogant critics into unjustifiable timidity. They are attached to their own communion by the measure of their affection for their ministers and hallowed church buildings. But their loyalty is being severely strained. One thing that is sure is that, in the struggle between naturalism and supernaturalism that is going on, Scotland, which was nourished in the childhood of the nation on supernaturalism and sustained by it in its adolescence and manhood, is not readily to yield up its cherished beliefs, and the witness and experience of the ages,

for probabilities that are neither comforting nor lifegiving.

In the battle which is proceeding, the confident but strident tone of criticism would seem to indicate to the casual observer that criticism has won the victory. Much of what is published lends support to such a conclusion. But Scotland should not be judged by its critical publications alone. Much of the piety of Scotland is inarticulate, and it is resolutely attached to historical evangelicalism. It needs only the unified efforts of evangelical scholarship and devotion to arouse and lead it. For that reason the time may not be far distant when it can be said of Scotland, as truly as it is said of Holland to-day, that the battle has been fought out, and the right and left parties have separated, each going its own way. But Holland warns and encourages Scotland. Radical modernism is a dying force in Holland, where it is leaving behind it a bewildered people who are becoming an easy prey to Rome. On the other hand, orthodoxy is active and vigorous, and is the only religious bulwark against Rome. Orthodoxy is pursuing its path of definite beliefs with imperturbable faith, and its scholarship is concentrated on producing its own Biblical literature, where the claims of criticism are discussed and refuted. New Testament scholars like Professor F. W. Grosheide of the Free University of Amsterdam, Professor J. A. C. Van Leeuwen of the University of Utrecht, Professor

S. Greijdanus of Kampen, Professors Machen and Vos of Princeton, and others in Europe and America, who lack nothing in scholarship and abound in faith, are leaders in a revival of orthodoxy that is world-wide in extent. This revival may not necessarily result in denominational disintegration, but it will issue in interdenominational unity in the faith, which is the only unity the New Testament teaches Christians to aspire to. Such a unity in the faith implies a unity in effort, where the strong must help the weak, and where the contributions of the scholarship and piety of each may be brought to swell the volume of the whole. True Calvinists all over the world are gradually coming nearer each other, and they are becoming more conscious of their common task and stronger in the fulfilling of it. The fellowship of groups in the Reformed denominations is begun to be realised by the direct contact of persons who are trying to serve this ideal. In the measure in which this contact is maintained will the solidarity of Calvinistic orthodoxy be recognised as a Christian force fitted by its history and present-day equipment to recover the fields lost to a criticism with which, in its extremer forms, it can neither compromise nor collaborate.

VII

From whatever side, then, one looks upon the subject the outlook for Calvinism in Scotland appears

reassuring. There is, on the one hand, a yearning among the serious-minded for the recovery of the lost deep insight into the mysterious and tragic things in life, and on the other a crying need for the enrichment and purgation of life by a gracious self-discipline, both which Calvinism can supply. For steeling the minds of the timid in a world of perplexities and fears, for consoling the hearts of the broken and unfortunate, and for the reconciling of cruel antagonisms, there is no conception of God of so momentous value and urgent need, as that of the sovereignty of the Almighty, holy God, whose will is eternally dominant. Both science and philosophy in their conclusions call to-day for the rehabilitating of such a conception. Even the profound and mysterious doctrine of predestination, with "the possibility of a final reprobation not to be excluded from an ethical theory of the life to come," [1] is thus supported by the latest words in Scottish philosophy. Equally striking is the corroboration of our Calvinistic belief in the "natural liberty" with which God endued the Will, found in this emphatic pronouncement of science, namely: "I think it unlikely that the conception of determinism will ever be reintroduced in a fundamental theory of the behaviour of single quanta." [2] As

[1] Professor A. E. Taylor, "Gifford Lectures," *Scotsman*, 19th February 1927.

[2] Professor Eddington, "Gifford Lectures," *Scotsman*, 19th February 1927.

the redeemed of the Lord, each of them is elect and free, in an eternal individualism, only to be thought of as eternally implanted in the body of Christ, in an eternal socialism, whereby apparent antagonisms are wholly reconciled.

Heirs of an imperishable heritage, because truth is eternal, the Calvinistic Churches are therefore called upon not merely to cultivate their individualism and to co-operate closely in the maintenance of this rich heritage, but with its liberating dynamic and creative power to offer their contribution on the altar of world-service for the relief and re-creating of an enthralled and suffering humanity. Unafraid, they should fearlessly contend for what they believe on any platform and before those who may differ from them. For too long have we been isolated and weakened by our isolation. The times demand courage and a closely knit confederacy of such as hold by a common inheritance. There should be a fuller and freer exchange of thought, of students, and of professors, and that is particularly desirable in the case of Holland and Scotland, long the witnesses by blood and sacrifice of their allegiance to a common faith, and both, though small geographically, benefactors of the human race to an extent that has evoked the wonder of even those who had little sympathy with their spiritual contendings. Such an one, out of many, was the severe critic and publicist, Viscount Morley, whose words, along with those of another, may form a

fitting close to these lectures. In an address at Manchester University in 1912 Morley referred "to a dozen books in political literature which rank in history as acts, not books." "Whether a dozen or a hundred," he proceeded, "*the Social Contract* assuredly was one. The *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, launched in Geneva two centuries before Rousseau, was another. But Calvin, the Protestant Pontiff from France, was no theorist as Rousseau was. The rock on which he built his Church was his own unconquerable will and unflinching power to meet occasion. This it was, not merely doctrines and forms of theological faith, that has made him one of the commanding forces in the annals of the world. Let us note in passing that our fashionable idolatry of great States cannot blind us to the cardinal fact that self-government, threatened with death when Protestantism appeared on the stage, was saved by three small communities so little imperial in scope and in ideals as Holland, Switzerland, and Scotland." [1]

But the Scottish Covenanters, unlike Morley, were conscious of a twofold citizenship, and for entrance into the two worlds which were theirs they were constantly striving to be prepared. It was the famous Covenanter, Donald Cargill, who gave expression to their aspirations in these profound and memorable words: "What needs all this ado?" asked one of the supporters of the Indulgence.

[1] Quoted in *British Weekly*.

"We will get heaven and they will get no more." "Yes," said Cargill, "we will get more. We will get God glorified on earth, which is more than heaven." [1]

[1] Henderson, *Religion in Scotland* (1920), p. 234.

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